E.1802(2) 1815

THE FANATICK HISTORY:

OR

An Exact

RELATION and ACCOUNT

OF

The Old ANABAPTISTS,

AND

New QUAKERS.

Being the ſumme of all that hath been yet diſcovered about their moſt Blaſphemous Opinions, Dangerous Practiſes, and Malitious Endevours to ſubvert all Civil Government both in Church and State.

Together with their Mad Mimick Pranks, and their ridiculous actions and geſtures, enough to amaze any ſober Chriſtian.

Which may prove the Death & Burial

OF

The Fanatick Doctrine.

Publiſhed with the approbation of divers Orthodox Divines.

Beloved beleive not every ſpirit, but try the ſpirits, whether they are of God; becauſe many falſe Prophets are gone out into the world, 1 Joh. 4. 1.

London, Printed for *J. Sims*, at the *Croſs Keyes* in *July* St. *Paul's* Church-yard. 1660.

I. 411

Acts 26

THE FANATICK HISTORY:

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The Old ANABAPTISTS,

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Being the summe of all that hath been yet discovered about their most Blasphemous Opinions, Dangerous Practises, and Malitious Endevours to subvert the Civil Government both in Church and State.

Together with their Malicious Pranks, and [illegible] to amaze any sober Christian.

Which may prove the Death & Burial

OF

The Fanatick Doctrine.

Published with the approbation of divers Orthodox Divines.

[illegible]

[illegible]

o the Majesty of the most high and Mighty Prince, Charles *the* II. *King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the faith, &c.*

OYAL SIR,

THe Author of this book if living, doth as yet conceal his name, but however the work doth speak his rth: it now happily came into my hands, l if your title and office did not warrant , I had not presumed to make your jesty the Patron to so small a book though of great consequence.) But (as u are the Defender of the Faith,) you e some obligation upon you to patro it; For when had the Faith of Christ re need of Defence then now? and en was it more assaulted, and adultera- by Blasphemous tenets, and Heretic

opinions especially by *Anabaptists*, a
Quakers then now? which none but a
gal authority can stifle; They are gro
so exceeding high and daring, that if yo
Majesty put not out your royal hand
power suddenly to restrain them, they a
so numerous, and so seducing, that the
will (in a little time) diffuse their poys
over the better part of your Kingdo
I beseech your grace to pardon the pr
sumption of,

Your most Loyal,

and obedient Subject,

Richard Blome.

The PREFACE to the READER.

READER, thou haſt here an exact account and Hiſtory of the Opinions, Blaſphemies, and practiſes of the Old Anabaptiſts *in* Germany, *which ſo much infeſted thoſe States; and the* New Quakers *in* England, *which have (of late) ſo much diſturbed us: I have taken the pains of the Collection, that we being fore-warned of them, may be fore-armed againſt them, and avoid the like danger: they are a generation moſt peſtiferous in their Doctrine, and dangerous in their Seduction, and ſo to be of all men to be avoided. There are many of late, and ſome of noble rank and quality, that are ſenſible of their erroneous ways, and are reduced from them; it is hoped (in a little time) many more will be ſo wiſe to do the like, which may prove the Death and Burial of their fanatick doctrine.*

I have made a faithful Collection both out of their own books, and the view of Authors of known reputation, and (that I may the better clear my integrity therein, I have all the way along) noted the book, and the Page where every particular is mentioned. In the mean, let me admoniſh thee to obſerve theſe rules.

1. That thou take no offence at Religion, or Religious men.] *For there is pure Religion, and undefiled, and Religious men, whoſe hearts are upright, whoſe wayes are holy, and undefiled: and if thou ſhouldſt be ſo taken in the Devils ſnare, though thou beeſt not fallen into* Anabaptiſm or Quakeriſme, *yet thou art by them to love Religion and Religious men the better, but never the worſe for this.*

2. Do juſtice.] *Set the Saddle on the right horſe, do not miſ-name any thing thou diſlikeſt, with the brand of* Anabaptiſt *or* Quaker, *thereby thou maiſt ſhew thy* diſlike, *but not thy* charity; *remember the command,* Thou ſhalt not bear falſe witneſſe

witnesse against thy neighbour: *the commonnesse of*
thing makes me caution thee rather, it is tedious to in
away, one for all. Phanatique *is extended beyond*
now it is come abroad and in vulgar mouths: every
person readily brands his neighbour with it, that will
readily with him into the same excesse of riot.

3. Be Zealous] *But* 1. κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν *according to*
ledge, do not speak evil of the things thou dost not
the things may well deserve blame, but then art to be
that letst thy tongue run before thy wit, 2. κατὰ θεὸν,
secundum regulam, *according to Gods rule, let not thy*
come wildefire, *do no wrong, violence to any, bring*
ling accusation, but wisely consider thy place and
Quakers have too just occasion of complaints against
I humbly advise, and for shewing thy zeal, it will be
in thy place, and according to thy power that God hath
thee withall to keep thy self and others from their tenets,
companyes and persons, too many run into the Mouth
but keep thy ground where God hath set thee, and make
the hands God hath given thee.

4. Stand and wonder] 1. *At the corruption and*
fulnesse of mans heart, 2. *the subtilty of* Satan, 3. *and the*
vere judgement of a righteous God, they are tremenda,
ing things. See you not how the Devil can change his shape,
his tone, make use of Scripture, reveal sin, presse duty,
the affections, come as Christ and the spirit of God? and all
but to deceive and destroy, and violently force the mortifi-
of the body, that that way may be the destruction of the
knows his methods, *his depths? he was a* Serpent
Lyon, *and a* Serpent *still to deceive, that he may be a*
to tear. Again, what is man? well educated, rightly
paled, far restrained yea, making a great shew of
got almost in the eye of the world to the door of Heaven,

hen Offence is taken, Pride nourished, a Lust satisfied, a way
llen into, affections tickled, a party confederate, whether may
t this man fall? into a Lust against light, sin against rela-
on, Heresies against the foundations, Blasphemie against
d, and setting up of himself equal to the Almighty. Lastly,
l this of God, as a righteous avenger of all unrighteousnesse,
n when he sees what men do not behold, and findes an opportu-
ty most subservient to his glory, lets man lust so fall into the
nds of his own heart, & into the power of his worst adversary,
d then what a piece of provocation, instrument of mischief,
d mirror of wonder doth he become?

5. Rise up and blesse God] If not fallen from the truth,
t decayed in thy spiritual life, if still attending on God in
e use of his means, for further communion quickning and
rmth: who hath made thee differ? how comes this to passe, but
y grace? that when others are fallen, thou shouldst stand, when
hers are gone off, thou shouldst go on; others waxing worse
d worse, then shouldst be coming better and better, thou hast
e same Heart and the same Devil, but a better God, blesse his
me for so great a blessing.

6. Walk with God] Remember wherevnto thou art called,
at thou dost professe, what God doth require, and be holy, give
evidence thy way is better then others, by appearing and be-
g more holy, more heavenly, more charitable, more righteous,
re circumspect then others; I have often read it with grief,
at things the Quakers have charged upon the generality of
ple, their ignorance, their pride, their prophanenesse, their
rthly mindednesse, drunkennesse, swearing and uncleannesse: oh!
w that have the Quakers and their ways, that yee would in this
ar their voice, own your sins, shame your Souls, and speedily
d really mend your wayes: is there any thing in those people
d their tenets bad? and is there any thing good or not plea-
g to God in such iniquities? kest thou in thy intemperate zeal

to flame

a ſtone for them, and haſt thou not in juſt indignation a ſtone to fling at thy own ſelf, againſt thy own Sin? beeſt thou a nuiſance perſon? mend betime, the very Quakers *in the ſtreets cry out upon thee: art thou good? ſtrive to be better, this is the way even to convince them, if not to witneſſe to the truth, and hold others that they may not be ſeduced. I obſerve, many a ſpirit have too juſt offence given unto them, and then are the eaſier ſeduced, by a ſhew of* ſanctity: *God keep us both from taking and giving offence. Farewell.*

Domine Deus! quæcunque ſcripſi in his libris de tuo, ignoſcant & tui; ſi quæ de meo & tu ignoſce & tui. *Amen.*

Lib. 1. The Old Anabaptiſt. *In Chapter* 6.

CHAP. I. The diſpoſition of the people that embraced *Anabaptiſm*: the Reformed Religion cleared from any ſociety with it.
II. The occaſion and ſeeds of *Anabaptiſm*, the inſurrection of *Muncer* and *Phifer*.
III, IV. The tragical diſorders committed at *Munſter*.
V. Of the *Anabaptiſts* in *Low-Germany*.
VI. Of the *Anabaptiſts* in *Switzerland* and other places.

Lib. 2. The New Quaker. *In Chapter* 10.

CHAP. I. Their name and practice.
II. Of *John Gilpin* of *Kendal*.
III. Of *John Tolderry*.
IV. Of *James Naylor*.
V. Sundry paſſages of divers *Quakers*.
VI. Of their Opinions.
VII. Of their Blaſphemy and Railing.
VIII. An account of a diſpute at *Cambridge*.
IX. Of the diſputes at *Sandwich*.
X. Shewing how they introduce Popery, and ſome of their paſſages dangerous to States.
XI. Of publick proceedings againſt them.

BRITISH MUSEUM

The old ANABAPTIST:
OR,
A Short Hiſtory
OF THE
ANABAPTISTS
IN
GERMANIE.
LIB. I.

CHAP. I.

The diſpoſition of the people that embraced Anabaptiſm. The Reformed Religion cleared from any ſocietie with it.

AS in a hot Summers day, many times there riſeth a great miſt with the Sun-riſing; the like comes to paſs at the riſing of the Sun of righteouſneſs. Since the days of the Apoſtles, that Sun never ſhone with more brightneſs and vigour then in *Luther's* beginnings; but it ſeemeth that this very ſtrength of the Sun-ſhine of the Truth

which dispelled the dark night of Popery, raised the foul mist of *Anabaptism*; which sinister effects must not be ascribed to the nature of the Truth, but to the indisposition of the several subjects not capable to receive it; for where the Gospel meeteth with the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit (which yet is the work of Grace, not Nature) it first enlightneth the understanding, and then (a) sweetly perswadeth the Will, and warmeth the Affections; but meeting with weak and turbulent natures, made so by corruption, whose judgment all passion, it fills them with a wild-fire zeal, and that precious liquor turns into vinegar being poured into such unclean vessels.

(a) *Suaviter & fortiter.* Aug.

This was seen in the common people of *Germanie*, *Low-Countries*, and *Switzerland*, whose sou were as course as their condition; for no sooner had *Luther* and *Zuinglius* began to preach the true *Gospel*, but the people made to themselves a new *Gospel* of licentiousness and rebellion, which produced such furious effects, that it was like to have strangled the true Gospel in its cradle: And it seemed that God, angry at the wilful blindness of the world that loved darkness rather than light, had prepared a worm to strike that Gourd the next day after its sudden happy rising.

But God would not suffer the good to be overcome with evil, but overcame the evil with good; for Anabaptism lasted not in its strength above 80 years, and ever since (till of late in *England*) hath been only buzzing in obscure corners, like a Wasp that hath lost its sting. Whereas the true Religion

notwithstanding the many persecutions of the world and all the craft of Satan, gets life *(b)* by her wounds, and hath given to the *Romish* beast that deadly blow, of which she shall bleed till she die, *haret lateri lethalis arundo.*

(b) *Sanguis martyrum semen Ecclesiæ.*

But because the Papists shall not ascribe (as they use) those factions and rebellions to the Reformation, it will be requisite to observe what were the dispositions of the Commons of High and Low *Germany*, a little before *Luther* began to oppose the Pope.

Trithemius Abbas Vspergensis, in his Chronicle of the year 1503. relateth, that in that year arose a great sedition of Peasants about *Bruxels*, which he calleth *Liga Sotularia*; They were sworn to these Articles, To shake off the yoke of all higher Powers, *(c)* and get liberty by force of Arms like the *Switzers*; To pull down all Magistrates, and kill all that should stand against them; To seize on the City of *Bruxels*, and invade the Marquisate of *Ba-*; To seize on all the revenues of Monasteries, *(d)* Churches and Clergy-men; To stay no where above 24. hours, *(e)* but go forward still, till they had brought many Countries to their society; To pay no more Tithes, nor Lords rents, nor Tributes: Whosoever was received into that League, was to say five times a day on his knees *(f)* a *Pater* and an *Ave*, for the good success of their enterprise; and their word of cognisance was the *Virgin Ma-* and Saint *John* the Evangelist. But that League

(c) A thing attempted and *tantum non* effected in *England* this last year.

(d) As some would the Tithes of *England* to pay the Soldiery.

(e) And how great and many mutations in *England* in one year. (f) Whose finger here?

went but a little way, being timely stopt, and
Authors put to death by *Maximilian* their P
Compare these Articles with those of the *A*
ptists 30 years after in the same Country, you
find them the same, and both varnished over
(*g*) Religion: All the difference was that the *S*
rians kept in their old heresie, and the Anab
broached a new one: I hope the Papists w
impute that sedition to the Reformation, no
than the inraged rebellions of the *Gantois* ag
their Soveraigns, for both were rank Papists:
true cause then must be ascribed to the mu
humor of that Nation, which afterwards
made worse by the cruel domination of the *S*
niard, so that when Reformation came, and sh
off the yoke of Popery, the discontented C
mons took occasion (by wresting and corru
the holy Doctrine) to shake off the yoke of
hard masters, and turned the spiritual liberty
the Gospel, into carnal licentiousness.

The like reason must be given for the *An*
ptistical commotions in High *Germany*; for in
thers time, and before, the lower sort of p
were extreamly (*h*) oppreſt by the Princes,
blemen, and Gentlemen of the Empire, w
made *Luther* to write about it to all the Pri
Anno 1525. to dehort them from their infinite
actions, and exhort them for Gods sake and
their own peace and safety, to use their Subj
and Tenants like men, not like beasts made for
yoke and the slaughter: If *Anabaptism*, bei
doctrine of licentiousness and libertinage, was

(*g*) *In nomine domini omne malum.*

(*h*) A warning to Governours to rule well, lest the horse throw his rider

imbraced by a multitude that groaned under miserable bondage, none needs to wonder.

As for the *Switzers*, their popular State, together with the contagion of the neighbouring *Germany*, made way for that popular doctrine, 200 years before they had killed or ejected all their Nobility, by whom they were heavily oppresst: and now the lower sort of people being bred in an ancient hatred against Superiors, imbraced that doctrine greedily, which armed the Commons against their Magistrates.

But it must be acknowledged to the praise of that State, that the Ecclesiastical and Political body opposed *Anabaptism* with great vertue and vigor, and so justified to the world that they were as great enemies to confusion as their forefathers had been to oppression.

To clear the Reformed Religion from that blotted imputation, that it gave countenance to these rebellions and new doctrines, the *Anabaptists* did serve; for they hated *Luther* worse than the Pope, and troubled the Evangeliques more than the Papists; And when they would insinuate themselves into the Reformed States, with a seeming familiarity, they had but rough entertainment among them, *Familiaris accipere haud familiariter*. What conferences past between them, and what pains the Reformed took to confute them, their lasting Monuments will shew, which are extant in the writings of *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Melanchthon*, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Lavaterus*, *Bullinger*, *Capito* and *Gastius*.

(i) Beware of that ill humour that it settle not with us.

(k) So the Quakers here *ne quid durius dicam.*

CHAP. II.

The first occasions and seeds of Anabaptism, *The insurrection of* Muncer, *and* Phifer.

IN the year 1521 *Luther* being proscribed by *Charls* the 5. Emperor, was secretly conveyed away out of *Wittemberg*, by *Frederick* Duke of *Saxonie*. In his absence *Andreas Carolostadius* one of the Ministers of *Wittemberg*, began to preach some new doctrines of his own, and being a passionate man, stirred the people to pull down (a) Images out of Churches in a tumultuous manner. *Luther* for that chief reason being called to *Wittemberg* again by his friends, condemned the proceedings of *Carolostadius*, saying, That although himself hated Images, and wisht them abolished, yet it ought to have been done orderly, removing them first out of the minds of the people, and teaching them that by Faith only we please God, and that Images are of no use in Religion: That the Consciences being thus informed and setled, Images would fall down of themselves: Also that when Images should be removed, he would have it done by the Magistrate, not by a popular sedition, holding it a matter of dangerous consequence to set the people on work about any publique action, which should be done by the hand of Authority.

(a) Some with us would pull down Churches and all.

About the same time a new Sect was springing in *Saxony*, of some fanatical people, boasting that they

they talked with God, and (b) God with them, who commanded them to kill all the wicked and make a new World, wherein the innocent and godly should live and reign alone; of which opinion *Carolostadius* was either the author or the abettor: And when he could not get that doctrine received at *Wittemberg*, where *Luther* was too strong for him, he left *Wittemberg*, and resorted to these new brethren.

(b) Enthusiasts.

It is hard to say whether *Carolostadius* or one *Nicholas Stock*, was the first founder of *Anabaptism*. *Melanæthon* saith that *Nicholas Stock* was he that began. He would say that God spake to him by an (c) Angel, and revealed him his will in dreams, promising him the place of the Angel *Gabriel*, and the Empire of the World. He taught that the Saints must reign in the World, and that he must be their leader, to kill all the Kings and Princes of the World, and repurge the Church: He took upon him to have the gift of discerning the Spirits, and know the Elect; he made holiness to consist in speaking little, and living homely and (d) sordidly.

(c) So Mahomet.

(d) Our Quakers sordid enough, but great talkers.

In that mans school was *Thomas Muncer* bred, who amplified much his Masters doctrine. He began to preach at *Alset* a City in the borders of *Thuringia*, belonging to the Elector of *Saxony*; teaching that the burden of the Pope was too heavy, and that of *Luther* too light; that his consorts must have a new Baptism; That Christians must be of an austere countenance, speak little and wear long beards; This he calls the cross and the mortification of the flesh: Also that they ought to

retire into desarts or private places, there to think of God, and ask him signs, whether he think of them, and whether they be in the right Religion: He ascribed much unto dreams, saying that God declareth his will that way, and praised openly in his Sermons such as had dreamed a dream that bore some explication.

Anno 1525. In that City of *Alstet* he began first to make a confederacie, administring an Oath and taking the names of all them that promised to assist him in his design of killing all the ungodly Princes and Magistrates, and erecting new ones in their places. So long as he was content to preach of dreams and the like matters of less consequence, *Frederick* Elector of *Saxony* bore with him; but when he began to preach sedition, he banished him out of his dominions: And he having lyen hid some months, came to *Nurenberg*, and being driven thence also, came to *Mulhus*, a town of *Thuringia*, where many of his old Disciples when he was at *Alstet*, resorted to him again.

Luther hearing of this, writes to the Magistrates and Senate of the Town, that they should not harbour *Muncer*, as they loved their own safety, describing withall the mans doctrine and conditions, and exhorting them to ask *Muncer* who had given him authority to preach, and if he could shew no *(e)* ordinary calling, that then they should eject him. The Senate of *Mulhus* needed not many perswasions, for they liked not that new ghest: But *Muncer* was too quick for them, for he so wrought upon the people in a short time, that they

(e) To preach without an ordinary calling, is with such the ordinary way.

they put down the Magistrates and set others in their place of their own faction. Not long after they drave the Fryars away, and seized on their houses, of which the best was given to *Muncer*, who bore himself no more as a meer Preacher, but as a Senator; for he judged of all things out of the Bible and (*f*) Divine revelations, and whatsoever he determined was received as an Oracle; especially when he preached that all goods must be common, (*g*) and all men free and of equal dignity: An acceptable doctrine in those parts where the Nobility and Gentry used their Tenants and Vassals like slaves, and oppresst them with multitude of impositions and services. No wonder if that new Gospel won the meanest sort, who presently left working, and what they wanted they took by open force from them that had it.

(*f*) *Verbum scriptum, & non scriptum,* Thus far Papists.

(*g*) Levellers.

(*h*) At the same time in *Suevia*, and *Franconia*, 40000 Boors and Tradesmen rose up in arms, killed and ransacked great part of the Nobles, took, pillaged and burnt many Forts and Castles, overthrowing all in their way like a sudden inundation; for when the banks of Authority are once beaten down, nothing can stop the popular fury, till they lose themselves in their own confusion (*i*).

(*h*) Prevention of bloudshed, a wonder in England.

(*i*) *Probamus, & sed non approbatum.*

Muncer then thought it was time for him to do the like; he layeth up abundance of Ammunition, maketh his Magazine in the Covent of *Franciscans*, casteth artillery, raiseth a numerous multitude of men, the mean People leaving their loom and their plough, to turn venturers in this holy war.

His chief associate was *Phifer*, one that gave much

much credence to dreams and night visions, and among other Visions, would say, that he had seen in his dream a great company of Rats in a Stable, and had driven them all away; Which he interpreted as a command from God to take arms and dispossess all the Nobility and Gentry: This *Phifer* was the stouter of the two; for although *Muncer* was vehement in his Sermons to the people, yet he would not try the hazard of a battel, till all the neighbouring Countries were joyned with him. To which end he sent divers Letters to the diggers of Mines, of which the County of *Mansfield* is full, exhorting them seriously to fall upon their Princes and cut them off, that so his Partie in *Franconia*, which looked but for his call, might have a free passage into *Thuringia*; But *Phifer* impatient of delayes, rusheth into the Country of *Isfield*, pillageth Castles and Churches, destroyeth many of the Nobles, brings some of them bound, and returneth with a great booty; which success raised the minds of the Boors, and caused another defection in the County of *Mansfield*. So *Muncer* hoping that the Rebellion was universal, taketh his journey from *Mulhus*, and is presently supplied with a company of *Frankhusians*.

But before this Snow-ball could grow by rolling, the Count *Mansfield* stopt its course; for having raised in haste some Companies of Horse, he falls upon *Muncer*, and killeth two hundred of his men, at which the rude unexperienced Boors were so terrified, that they all fled away to *Frankhus*, there to expect a greater supply, though they were men enough,

enough, but (as it ſeems) Souldiers few or none. This only skirmiſh broke the edge of their fury, and gave time to *John* Elector of *Saxonie* (newly come to that dignity, by the death of his brother *Frederick*) and his Uncle *George* of *Saxonie*, *Philip* Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, and *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, to raiſe fifteen hundred Horſe and a few Companies of Infantry.

The Boors were pitched upon a hill by *Frankhus*, pretty well intrenched within their own Carts, but very ill armed, and worſe diſciplined. The Princes, though ſlenderly attended, contemned, and pitied together that rude troop, and ſent to offer them impunitie and a general pardon, if they would but yeild the authors of the ſedition and return home: But *Muncer* underſtood not that Goſpel, that one man ſhould die for the Nation. He falls to preaching, and expounds that ſollicitation of the Princes, as an argument of their weakneſs and fearfulneſs; Tels the Boors that he was ſent from God to command and lead them in this action: That their part was to obey like *Abraham*, who being commanded to kill his ſon, went about it, though he was uncertain of the event; That they ſhould certainly overthrow both theſe and all other enemies of God, it being Gods promiſe that the righteous ſhall waſh his foot in the bloud of the wicked, and that the meek ſhall inherit the earth; (*k*) That theſe Princes were but Tyrants and Theeves, ſucking the bloud of the people, to live at eaſe and maintain their pride and wantonneſs; That they maintained the Maſs, and therefore deſerved to be

(*k*) Governours oppreſſions firſt or laſt the cauſe of many miſchiefs

be extermined: Then he exhorted them to be valiant in the Lord, and kill every mothers son of their enemies, for an acceptable sacrifice unto God, assuring them that God himself that cannot lye, had promised him victory, and commanded him to destroy Princes and Magistrates, endowing him with such strength that he was able to turn all their bullets back with his coat; Hereupon perceiving a Rain-bow in the (*l*) Skie, and turning his eyes towards his Colours, where a Rain-bow was painted, Look up (said he) to Heaven; here is for you a joyful sign of Gods favour, that Rain-bow the very emblem of our Colours; and be sure that God promiseth us that he will be our Standard-bearer and fight for us himself; Come then let's fight valiantly under Gods Standard.

(*l*) The Devil is Prince of the air, *Eph.* 2. 2. ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος.

That new piece of imposture made a strong impression in some. Yet the Princes drawing near with a warlick march, made a stronger impression of fear in these rude Souldiers, than *Muncers* revelations and signs; for the Princes were incensed by a late cruel treachery of *Muncer*, who had put to death against the Law of Arms and Nations, a hopefull young Gentleman sent to him to treat of agreement. The Princes began to play with their Ordnance. I cannot say to (*m*) break, the ranks of the Boors, for they keep neither Rank nor File, and scarce keep their understanding, for they neither advanced, nor fled, nor put themselves in defence, but fell a singing, *Come Holy Ghost*, expecting that God should fight for them from Heaven, according to *Muncer's* promise: But when their intrench-

(*m*) Men of disorder cannot keep order.

trenchments of Carts was broken, and the Princes army came to handy blows, away fled all the boors, some one way, some another, but the most part to *Frankhus*; 5000 of them were slain, *Frankhus* taken the same day, and 300 men taken and executed.

Muncer was found hid at *Frankhus*, and lying on a bed faigning himself to be one of the Town that had been long sick of an ague, which his quaking for fear did imitate to the life; but letters being found about him from *Albert* of *Mansfeld*, to dissuade him from his seditious courses, he was known to be *Muncer*, which yet this lying Prophet denied long.

Being brought before Duke *George* of *Saxony*, and the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, and demanded why he misled the simple people to sedition; He answered that he had done no more than his duty; and that Magistrates that receive not the doctrine of the Gospel, must be dealt with by such wayes: These reasons of his were confuted by the Rack, where when he cryed out, Duke *George* told him, Thou sufferest now *Muncer*; but think how many poor people have suffered by thee this day; At which *Muncer* laughed aloud and said, *Why, they would have it so*, meaning that the people loved to be cozened and misled, and that nothing could win their hearts but sedition.

Shortly after *Phifer* and other heads of the rebellion were executed at *Mulhus*, and *Muncer* a while after, who shewed a great deal of dejection and perturbation in his end, and could not so much

as make confession of his Faith, with much ado could he speak after the Duke of *Brunswick* who taught him what he should say; Yet when he was ready to be executed, he (*n*) acknowledged his errour openly, and made an exhortation to the Princes and Nobles, to use their subjects and vassals with more moderation; which if they did, the people would break no more into such rebellions and outrages; he desired them diligently to read the book of Kings, there to learn their duty, and Gods judgements against unjustice and oppression. He was beheaded, and his head set on a high pole in the fields.

(*n*) The magistrates sword by Gods blessing may do good; Babylons prison made *Manasseh* fitter for a Throne.

In the mean while *Luther*, because he was defamed by the Papists, as the author or occasion of those troubles, was sending godly exhortations over all *Germany*, to exhort the commons to peace and obediente to their Superiours, and rather to suffer for righteousness, then defend the Truth with unrighteousness, and that this was the Devils cunning to raise sedition by false brethren, to bring the Truth of God into hatred and obloquie.

And to the commons of *Suevia*, that had been up in armes before *Muncer*, and continued still in rebellion, he writ a grave admonition, representing that although they were oppresst by their Princes, who therefore deserved to be punisht, yet it belonged not to them to do the execution; (*o*) That they must not believe the Sermons of every preacher; for Satan (saith he) under colour of the Gospel hath in these times raised many seditious and bloudy teachers; You are oppresst by your

(*o*) The Judge must hang a Thief, and he lawfully commissioned.

your Superiours that take your eſtates from you, that do unjuſtly; but you do more unjuſtly to take that Juriſdiction from them which is none of yours; And whereas they take but few things from you by exactions and too great burdens, you take all from them when you take away their authority: Is this obeying Chriſt who commands us not to reſiſt evill, but to him that ſtriketh us on the one cheek to turn the other, and let him that will take our Coate, to take our Cloak alſo? Nay, it is the duty of Chriſtians to ſuffer and undergo the Croſs, not to reſiſt and ſeek revenge and ſmite with the ſword; When *Peter* would fight to ſave his Maſter, a lawfull defence if ever was any, He bids him not to ſtrike with the ſword, becauſe that ſtriking was oppoſing the Magiſtrate for a private revenge; and to ſuch oppoſers of the Magiſtrate that Sentence belongeth, They that ſtrike with the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword: But I perceive the Devils plot, that ſince he could not deſtroy me by the Pope, he ſeeks to undo me by theſe violent bloud-thirſty preachers: (*p*) And do you take heed of them, for they caſt you headlong into a precipice, that they may riſe by your fall, and get honors and dignities with your perill.

nota bene.

(*p*) Any way ſo it be done, pleaſes him.

That *Suevian* Rebellion was ſoon after ſuppreſt, partly by the vigorous oppoſition of the Princes, partly by their own wearineſs and diſorder, the limbs of that faction dropping off here and there, like a rotten carkaſe that can no longer hang together. (*q*)

(*q*) *Malum malum deſtruit.* Snared in the work of his own hands, *Pſal.* 9. 16.

Muncer

Muncer and his associates being punisht, *Carlostadius* was not far from the like danger; for having left *Wittemberg* where he feared *Luther*, he kept conventicles in *Saxony*, associating himself with frantick men that boasted of Visions, and Colloquies with God, and a particular spirit; There also he writ a bitter book against *Luther*, and against his own Prince, for which misdemeanours he was sought to be executed with *Muncer's* complices. In that extreamity he called upon *Luther's* help whom he had so much provoked, and was saved by his intercession. (r)

(r) Heroick.

Chap. III.

The growth of Anabaptisme, The Tragical disorders committed at Munster.

THE root and branch of fanatical faction seemed then to be cut off, but the seeds remained, and brought forth many new twigs of the same kinde: Presently after *Muncer*, one of greater learning and parts, began to preach the same doctrine at *Strasburg*, and was imprisoned for it by the Rulers of the City; his name was *Melchior Hoffman*: And scarce two years after *Muncer*, *Germany* was full (a) of *Anabaptists*; A new name then but in effect the old sect of *Muncer*, with some additions. (b) They denyed the incarnation of Christ in the holy Virgins womb, condemned the

Anno 1527.

(a) Ill weeds grow apace.

(b) There is a resurrection of error as well as of truth.

Baptis

Baptisme of Children, and re-baptized themselves, and all that embraced their sect: They would not allow Christians to recover their own by Law, nor to take an Oath, nor bear the Office of Magistrate, and they pulled down Magistrates by way of fact where they had strength, and gave the power of the sword to their Ministers and Prophets, who decided all differences, and judged of all cases by Scripture, and undertook to kill all the Princes of the World, and cut off all the ungodly with another sword than that of the Spirit: They taught that in their Church all were holy, that none can be saved that will not make his private goods common, that it is lawfull to have many wives, that all learning is prophane, and that mean ignorant men are the fittest to expound Scripture, that there must be no ordinary calling in the Church, but every one may speak as he is inspired by the Holy Ghost; that Christ must reign over all the World, and therefore all other Kings and Princes, and their adherents must be slain, till there be none left to reign but Christ; and what they taught they went really about to practise.

Melchior Hopman being kept prisoner at *Strasburg*, and his Sect severly repress't by the wise Magistrate; that crew dispersed it self in *Westphalia*, *Frise*, *Holland*, and most part of the *Low Countreys*, where they got a very great party, yet among the common sort of people onely. *Lambertus Hortensius* one of my Authors affirmeth confidently, that among that numerous rabble of seditious people, not one was found that ever was a Schollar, and

very few that could read or write. When they were confuted by reaſons or teſtimonies of Scripture, their anſwer was, that the Spirit taught them otherwiſe, and that the Spirit bloweth where he liſteth, and doth not inſpire every one.

Theſe fancies were increaſed by one *George* of *Leyden*, with many groſs and monſtrous Additions: The ſect by his ſeduction in ſhort time grew ſo ſtrong, as to deſpiſe all Rule, all Judges, and all Courts, and chuſe private Rulers among themſelves, who determined of all cauſes, and ſate upon life and death.

But their rage could not keep long at home; They would ſometimes ruſh out of Cities in great troops, and ranſack Convents and Rich mens houſes, taking for their warrant the example of the Iſraelites, that took the ſpoyl of the Egyptians: Yet in theſe incurſions they made Conſcience at the firſt to enter into any Temple of thoſe that were not rebaptized, but made no conſcience to lye with their wives as left for a prey to the godly.

This was their prepa ration for the day of Judgement, about which they had many revelations: One of their Prophets proclaimed that within three days the laſt judgment ſhould come (*c*); This made many of them to leave their houſes, and get up into high trees there to expect the Comming of Chriſt; but having expected three days faſting, they returned faint and weak, and met with another Judgment at home; for the Magiſtrate inquired after the Authors and promoters of that deluſion, and puniſhed them.

(*c*) dooms day *Sedgw.*

Of

Of all Cities of the *Low-Countries*, *Amſterdam* was moſt peſtered with that ſect, the great concourſe and traffick giving them fair opportunity to reſort to that famous place: Where being many times repreſt with fines and impriſonments and wholeſome ſeverity, they would diſperſe themſelves over the Country, filling all with clamour, ſcattering papers in the high ways, threatning ruine and deſtruction to all that would not adhere to them, and leave lands and houſes to come out of *Babylon*; for *Babylon* they would overthrow; and within the circuit of *Babylon*, they included all Magiſtracy and Civil Government, and all wealth and greatneſs; A great quarrel they had with the *Babylonian Gold*.

But the whole World was little enough for their ambition. It was their ſerious intent to make themſelves maſters of the World, which they both profeſſed and attempted, beginning their Empire at *Munſter* in *Weſtphalia*.

It grieveth me to ſay that in *Munſter*, truth made way for error: For in the year 1532, one *Bernard Rotman* came to S. *Maurice* Church hard by *Munſter*, where he preached good doctrine and converted many, ſo that the people would have him admitted into the City; Which the Papiſts fearing, gave him a ſumme of Money, upon condition he ſhould go to ſome other place, which he did, and abſented himſelf for ſome months, in which time he improved his gifts and learning, and returned again better furniſht to encounter the adverſary.

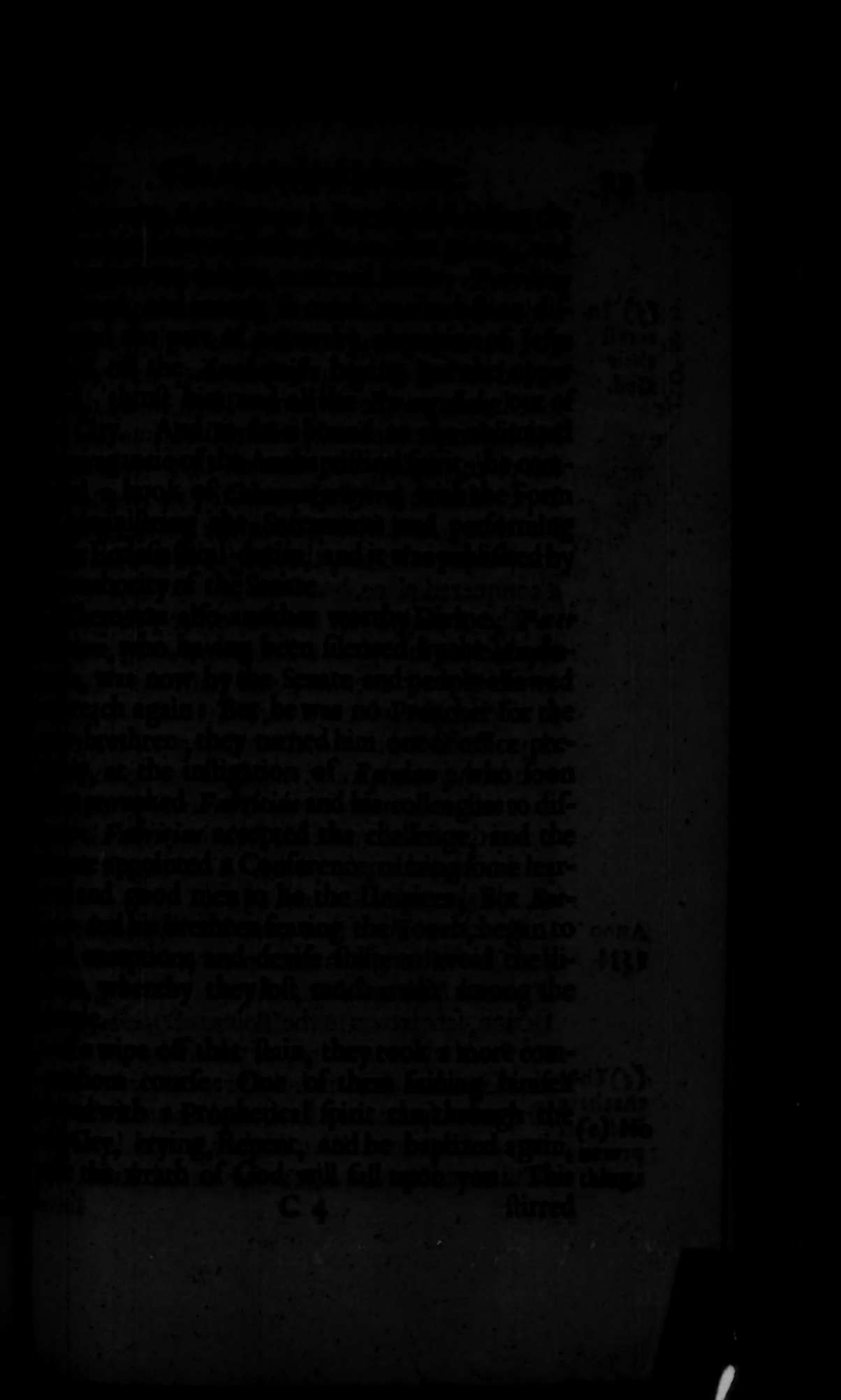
Being received at Saint *Maurice* with greater applauſe than before, ſome Citizens of the beſt ſort brought him into the City, and becauſe the Church doors were ſhut againſt him they made him a Pulpit in the Church-yard, and ſhortly after told the Papiſts, that if they would not open the door of ſome Church, they would open it themſelves. *Rotman* ſeeing the progreſs of the Reformation, ſends to *Haſſe* for ſome help, and they ſent to him two Divines of *Marpurg*; With theſe by the counſel and authority of the beſt in the Town, he challenged Papiſts in diſpute, and preſented thirty Articles of Papiſtical errours to the Senate, offering to prove that they were contrary to holy Scripture: The Senate ſends for the Clergy of the City, and requireth them that ſince they had always profeſt that their doctrine was grounded upon holy Writ, they would now make it good: The Clergy finding themſelves unexpectedly put to it, anſwered plainly that it was more than they could, and that they were ſure they had a good intention, though there might be ignorance and errour in their profeſſion (*d*): Whereupon the Senate interdicted them to teach the People any more, and gave their places to the new teachers that had detected the impoſtures of the old.

(*d*) *Ignorantia mater devotionis.*

The expulſed Clergy retire to their Biſhop and Prince, (for the Biſhop of *Munſter* is Prince of the City.) The then Biſhop was Count *Francis Waldeck*, to whom *Frederick* Archbiſhop of *Colen* had lately yeilded the place. The Biſhop preſently ſtops all the paſſages of Victuals to the City, and raiſeth

raiſeth ſome forces to compel the Citizens to reſtore all things in the former State. But the Citizens by a night enterprize, took his beſt men, and the richeſt of the Popiſh party lying in a little Town, whence the Biſhop was gone the day before: This gave occaſion to parley and a Compoſition, by the mediation of the Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, wherein it was agreed upon, that ſix Churches ſhould be given to the Reformed party, and that the Cathedral ſhould remain as it was before. This agreemens was made *Feb.* 14. 1538.

Hitherto all was well, if it could have ſtaid there; But before the ſwinge of the former commotion was well ſtaid, there comes to the Town in an ill hour, a peſtilent *Anabaptiſt*, a Taylor of *Leyden*, *John Becold*, better known by the name of *John of Leyden*: This man begins to confer with Miniſters and People, about the Baptiſm of Children, maintaining it to be unlawful, ſeducing many, and ſowring the new Lump of that Church with the Leaven of his perverſs doctrine: with him or preſently after him came a very great multitude of his fraternity, moſt of them *Hollanders*. Theſe keeping conventicles in the night, got a great party in the City, and incenſed one another with deſperate reſolutions. They had with them one *Herman Strapeda*, brought up under *Henry Rell*, who had been lately executed at *Utrecht*, for preaching *Anabaptiſm* and ſedition; At the feet of that *Gamaliel*, one may think what doctrine he had learned: This man they got to be choſen colleague to *Rotman*, before his hereſie was known; but he made it known preſently preaching openly againſt



stirred the people, and many ran also with him, crying the same words: Many of the simpler sort were rebaptized for fear of the wrath of God, and many more for fear of the wrath of men (f): For this crying and running through the streets, ended in ransacking the best houses, and laying violent hands on the owners. Then many that lay hid before, came forth, and rushed into the Market place, crying out, that all that were not rebaptized must be killed presently, as Ungodly and Heathen; And seizing upon the Town-House and the weapons therein, they began to domineer as in a conquered place.

(f) Interest their God.

The *Evangeliques* on the other side gathered themselves in a place called *Overwater*, and took many of their enemies, and both the sides were fortifying the places where they stood: Three days they stood thus without doing any great harm one to the other, till giving hostages on both sides, they fell to a composition; That every one should enjoy the freedom of his Religion, and all should go home and live in peace. This tumult was towards the end of *Decemb.* 1533.

Anno 1534.

But this composition gave but time to the *Anabaptists* to strengthen their party; for *Roman* and *Bernard Knipperdoling*, the most stirring of the faction, sent letters to the Towns of *Osnburg*, *Wesel*, *Corfweld* and *Warendorp*, of which the tenour was, that God had sent an holy Prophet (g) to *Munster*, who spake wonders, and shewed the right way to Salvation: That if they would leave their houses and come to *Munster* in all haste, they should

(g) They that have least, oft pretend most.

should get ten times more then they left at home, and with the spiritual wealth get all worldly riches (*h*).

(*b*) If sinners intice, consent you not, *Prov.* 1. 10, &c.

These fair promises drew all the scum of the neighbouring Towns to *Munster*, the poorest and idlest sort liking that Religion well, that maketh all men alike and all goods common, and puts down those Laws and Magistrates that refrained their licentiousness. In a short time the City was full of strangers and vagrants that looked upon the City as a Land of Promise, where they must take a new plantation, and expulse the *Canaanites*. At their coming the richest of the Town, being frighted, thought it their safest course, fairly and quietly to give them place, and without noise withdrew themselves out of the City.

The *Anabaptists* seeing themselves strong, ran to Saint *Maurice* Church and burnt it with all the houses about it, pillaged all the Churches, defaced the Cathedral, depopulated the Convents and Colledges, and burnt a fair great Library belonging to the Fryers; And for the final exploit, drove all the *Evangeliques* out of the City, but some few (whom they mistook for *Anabaptists*) crying, Get hence all ye wicked, else you shall all be slain. And with such a violence they put them out, that some women great with child miscarried in the tumult.

In this banishment the grieved Citizens suffered double persecution; for being turned out bare by the *Anabaptists*, they were taken by the Bishop (*i*), who the day before had encamped before the City, and

(*i*) *In extremis nulla salus.*

and by him used as enemies: some were in danger to have lost their heads, as the worthy Divine *Peter Wirtem*, who was saved by the mediation of the Lantgrave of *Hessen*. This forced the rest of the *Evangelicks* to stay in the City, though there was little choice between staying in the frying-pan, or leaping into the fire.

And now the *Anabaptists* being Masters of the City, began to order their new State; for though they were enemies to all Superiority and Order, yet necessity and Nature it self forced them to elect some Superiours of their own. They made two Consuls, *Knipperdolling* and *Kippenbrok*, and twenty two Senators or Aldermen, that had the Civil power. The Prophets were to rule matters of Religion, under which name they governed Church and Common-wealth; (k) for all civil matters were brought within the compass of Religion and Conscience, and whatsoever a Prophet said to be revealed unto him, past for Law.

(k) *In ordine ad spiritualia. Bell.*

The most famous of these Prophets was *John Matthias*, a Baker of *Harlem*, who was in effect a perpetual Dictator in *Munster*, that made Laws and changed them after his pleasure: By him was the foresaid Order made; His chief adjunct was *John* of *Leyden*, and the next *Bern. Knipperdolling*. By a revelation of *John Matthias*, an order was made upon pain of death, that all the gold and silver and moveable goods of the Town should be brought to the common Stock, for which they appointed a publick house: The order was obeyed more for fear then conscience; for two maids (Pro-

(l) The Devil knows how to make good use of bad women.

phetesses

Seeresses, took upon them to find out the fraud, and the several houses were searched by a Deacon; so that common Stock were brought all the goods of those that were driven out of the City.

With that common Stock they kept four great Ordinaries in the four quarters of the Town, where all fed in common, none being allowed to diet at home, unless he were sick: Plenty of provision they had, and they husbanded it very ill, feasting every day till the Bishop that besieged them, began to cut off their victuals, and then they stinted themselves, but with too large a stint, which was to have change of meat every third day, one day fresh meat, the other day hung meat and bacon, and the third day milk, butter and cheese.

I read of no great feats of arms in this siege. Once only the Bishop received a notable repulse by *John Matthias*, who was a General as well as a Prophet; With easie labour he had so fortified the Town, which is most strong by Nature, that he had made it impregnable, so that the Bishop despairing to take it by force, went about to take it by famine. Indeed the negligence of the Besiegers and the security of the Besieged, are the only things remarkable in this siege.

The Prophets then neglecting the Bishop, converted their care to the spiritual government; and commanded that none should keep any book but Scripture: So all the books that could be found, but Bibles, (*m*) were brought to a publique place and a bonfire made of them.

(*m*) The Bible much made of, most abused.

From executing of books they fell to executing of

of persons; (n) *Hubert Treteling* a Black-smith seeing *Joh. Matthias* pass by, said, Here goeth a false (o) Prophet; For this offence he was brought to the Congregation and condemned to death: *John Matthias* would himself be the executioner, and wounded him with an Halbert; the wound being not mortal, he brings him to another place and shoots him thorow with a pistoll, then taking compassion on him, he pardons him, saying, that God was appeased towards him, and that he had a revelation that the man should not die of this, yet the poor man died a few days after.

(n) Seducers grow worse & worse.

(o) We have seen smitten Quakers, one coming into the publike Assembly on the Lord day naked, and smitten up to the elbows.

To make amends for his false prophesie, He ran in a mad mood over all the City, bearing a Pike crying, that God the Father had commanded him to drive the enemy back from the City, and so rushed alone into the enemies camp, without fear and wit, (p) and was there killed.

(p) Every way mad.

John Matthias being dead, *John* of *Leyden* comforteth the people, saying, that he knew long before by revelation that *John Matthias* was to die that death, & that himself should marry his wife (q), which he did shortly after, though he had one before, but this was one of singular beauty, able to make a holy young Prophet to set up the doctrine of Polygamy.

(q) Pretend the Spirit, intend the Flesh.

But he fell to other work before he stirred this point; *Knipperdolling* came out with a revelation, that they that were in high places should be brought down to the lowest, & they that were in the lowest raised to the highest (r). But *John* of *Leyden* met him in his own kind with another revelation, that since it was Gods pleasure that those that were in the high

(r) They will turn all upside down.

places should be brought down to the lowest, he
s sent from God to put him down from the place
Consul, & make him the Hang-man, and to that
rpose he gave him from God the sword of justice.
But there was need of more revelations for that
eat work of alteration of the government; *John*
Leyden was led by his prophetical spirit upon the
ty walls, where he put off his clothes, and ran (*s*)
ked through the City, crying, *The King of Sion*
come, The King of Sion is come. Then returning
me, he falls into a deep prophetical sleep, and (*t*)
eams three days and three nights together: Being
waked, he comes forth and speaketh never a word,
t calleteth by signs for a Table-book, like *Zecha-*
iah. There he sets down twelve men, all Coblers,
Tinkers, Smiths, and mean Tradesmen, but one that
s a Gentleman of *Munster*; to these he assigneth
the government of the Common-wealth, putting
down the order set up by *John Matthias*, and affir-
ming that this was the Fathers (*u*) good will. In that
paper also he writeth some conclusions, which he
chargeth the preachers to teach the people; Or else
he would have them ratified by the Congregation
without the Preachers: The sum of all was, that a
man is not tied to one wife, but that he may (*x*) mar-
ry as many as he pleaseth. And when most of his
Doctors would not approve of that monstrous pa-
radox, he citeth them before his twelve Magistrates,
and there he recovered his tongue, keeping a great
clamor, throwing down his cloths upon the ground,
and the new Testament upon them, and swearing
by that holy book, that the doctrine which he had
announced,

(*s*) The old trade

(*t*) Filthy dreamers Jude 8. ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι.

(*u*) You are of your father the Devil.

(*x*) This is spiritually the clean contrary way.

announced, was revealed unto him from Heaven and threatning them all, that if they conſented not to this doctrine, God would withdraw his mercy from them. To teſtifie his evidence of ſpirit and power, he commanded the firſt oppoſer of that new Goſpel to be beheaded, which was done preſently.

For three days together there was preaching concerning matrimony, for the confirmation of this opinion; But the beſt confirmation was his practice; for preſently he married three wives, one of which was the relict of that grand Prophet *Joh. Matthias* by whom ſhe was with child; and married again and again, till he had fifteen wives. Many followed his example, and it began to be a matter of great praiſe to multiply wives.

This ſeemeth to have been his firſt motive to broach that doctrine; A Souldier of the Biſhops that had changed party, and was harboured where *John* of *Leyden* lay, obſerved in the night, that this holy Prophet left his bed, and went to the maids bed(y): *John* of *Leyden* ſeeing himſelf diſcovered, in the morning called the Souldier aſide, and gave him gold, deſiring him to keep his counſel; But after miſtruſting the Souldiers tongue, he thought it ſafer to countenance the fact by a(z) *publick doctrine*.

This doctrine then was readily embraced by thoſe whoſe age and temper was apteſt to conſult with fleſh and blood; None refraining himſelf from multiplication of wives for want or covetouſneſs, for their wives were kept upon the common Stock. Neither did they keep any face of Order or any ſhew of modeſty in thoſe marriages; for preſently

(y) Defiling the fleſh. *Jude* 8. Σάρκα μιαίνοντες.

(z) Faſhioning their doctrine to practiſe a new light.

ſoon after the receiving of that Law, the brethren ran to the handſomeſt women of the City, ſtriving who ſhould be ſerved firſt, and lay with them without any form of contract, ſo that within few days there was not one woman of 14. years of age but was violated (a).

But thoſe of the City that yet had ſome remnant of ſound mind, being extreamly grieved with diſorder, and groaning under that foul tyranny, made party, and laid hold of *John* of *Leyden* & *Knipperdoling* and all the Prophets; which coming to the ears of the frantick rabble of people, which made the greateſt number, they took arms and reſcued the Prophets, and killed fifty of their adverſaries, moſt of them in cold blood, and with ſeveral kinds of deviſed cruelties (b), *John* of *Leyden* encouraging the murtherers, and crying, that he that would do God ſervice ſhould give the firſt blow.

(a) Ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες μεστοὺς μοιχαλίδος, 2 *Pet* 2. 14.

(b) Seducers cruel.

CHAP. IV.

Continuation of the ſiege of Munſter, *The reign of* John *of* Leyden, *The taking of* Munſter, *The deſerved puniſhment of the Rebels.*

WHile they were thus wiving and ſtriving in *Munſter*, the Biſhop had fair play, if he could have husbanded the occaſion. Some weak attempts he made, with ill ſucceſs, and having till then born the charges of the warr alone, he was afterwards aſſiſted with men and mony by *Herman* Archbiſhop of *Colen*, and *John* Prince of *Cleves*, and ſeeked ſuccour of all the Cities of the *Rhyne*, about which

which demand there was a meeting appointed to be held at *Coblents*, *Decemb.* 13. 1534.

This long delay gave time to *John* of *Leyden* to project new deſigns; He declared that the Spirit of Propheſie was retired from him, and repoſed upon *John Tuſcocurer* a Goldſmith of *Warendorp*; And this new Prophet having called the Congregation together, declared that it was the will of the heavenly Father that *John* of *Leyden* ſhould be (*a*) King of the Univerſe; And that with mighty Armies he ſhould kill all Kings and Princes, and deſtroy all the ungodly, and ſave the people that love righteouſneſs, and that he muſt poſſeſs the Kingdom of his Father *David*, till the time come that he muſt deliver the Kingdom to his Father (*b*); And that all the ungodly being killed, the godly ſhould reign in the World. Whereupon *John* of *Leyden* fell on his knees, and lifting up his hands to heaven, ſaid, Men and brethren, ſo much I knew long ago, but I would not reveal it; Now God hath made choice of another to bear witneſs to that truth. Then ſaid *Tuſcurer* again, Thus ſaith the Lord, As I ſet *Saul* to be King in *Iſrael*, and after him *David* taken from the Sheep-fold, ſo I have ſet *John Becold* my Prophet to be King in *Sion*: And when the Senate refuſed that propheſie, the Prophet refuſed the Senate, and appealed to the Congregation, ſaying, Give ear Iſrael, Thou ſhalt abrogate thy Magiſtrates, and put down thy Preachers, and inſtead of them eſtabliſh 12 ſimple men (*c*) without any learning; them thou ſhalt command that they read my word unto my people, and without any help but my ſpirit, expound it;

(*a*) He will ceaſe to be a Prophet that he may be King.

(*b*) The height of blaſphemy.

(*c*) Simple men ſeduced, great agents for Satan.

into

into them will I pour the spirit of wisdom and understanding. Then giving a sword to *John* of *Leyden*, And to thee (saith he) Father *Becold*, the Father giveth this sword, and calleth thee not only to be King in *Sion*, but over all the World, and to extend thine Empire unto the ends of the earth.

This oracle was followed with great shoutings and acclamations of the people, crying, *God save the King*, and presently he was brought to S. *Lamberts* Church-yard, and there again proclaimed K.

There the new King created four Counsellors of State, the chief whereof was one *Gerard* a Bookbinder, one *Talbeck* he made Lord Steward of his household, *Gerard Kippenbrok* Treasurer of his Plate and Jewels, *Knipperdolling* Governor of the City, and appointed twelve Archers of his Guard.

This Taylor King presently made use of his skill to make himself fine in clothes. He translated the copes and carpets of the Churches & convents, into dublets and breeches, and cloaks, which set off his Majesty all in gold and silver. His horses wore a suitable livery, richly harnessed with golden and silver saddles and footcloths; he had great change of rich apparel, in which he appeared abroad, having his chief Officers and Counsellors riding before him in great State. Next to him rid two young men richly attired, the one carrying a naked sword with a golden hilt, set with precious stones, the other carried a Bible and a *triple Crown* of gold, of exquisite work, glittering with diamonds. Himself wore a great *chain of gold about his neck*, like a Coller of some noble Order, with a golden Globe

having a golden Sword thorough it, hanging at the chain, with this Motto about the Globe, *Rex juſtitiæ hujus mundi*, the King of Righteouſneſs of this world. After him followed fifty Penſioners clad with parti-coloured garments of aſh-colour and graſs-green, white caps, and golden rings on every finger, making the aſh-colour an emblem of mortification, the graſs-green of regeneration, the white caps of innocencie, the golden rings of charity: but among theſe prophetical riddles, he ordered his Court with ſo much State, and ſo diſpoſed his Officers, that if he had been a King born, he could have done it no better. So much all his adverſaries acknowledge.

In that Royal array he ſhewed himſelf three times a week in publick, and went up to a high Throne ſet up with great magnificence: Under him ſate *Knipperdolling* Governour of the City; and lower, his four great Counſellors of State. In that Court he he judged of all controverſies, moſt of which were about divorces, for by his new orders any man that was weary of his wife might take another, & as many more as he liſted; which could not but multiply ſuits, and give work to the new King, and his Counſellors, and Prophets.

In that Court *Knipperdolling* would ever come out with ſome *Bedlam* rapture: Once he fell flat to the ground, and creeping upon his hands and feet, he went to ſeveral perſons of the Aſſembly, and blowing them in the mouth, ſaid, The Father hath ſanctified thee, receive the holy Ghoſt; Another time he fell a dancing, ſaying, So I danc't once with my

my little harlot, and now the heavenly Father hath commanded me that I ſhould dance ſo in the Kings preſence: Another time before the King came, he ſate in his chair of Majeſty, and there propheſied that he ſhould die and riſe again, and that then the eys of the blind ſhould be open; But the King comming, ſhewed him that the ſpirits of the Prophets muſt be ſubject unto the Prophets, for he pulled him down and committed him to the Jail for three days.

This jolly Taylor having thus ſtitched up a kingdom in haſte, turned his ſerious care to go thorow ſtitch with it: For that there was need of ſupply to to remove the Biſhop that hindered his work; And becauſe all ſhould be done in a Prophetical way, *Tuiſcocurer*, his chief agent, came to him (as it ſeems by his appointment) one day as he was ſitting in his Throne with more than ordinary Majeſty, and told him, King *John*, the Goſpel muſt be renewed by thee; Thus ſaith the Lord God, Go and ſay to the King of *Sion*, that he prepare my holy Supper in the Church-yard of the great Church, and that he chuſe Teachers of my word, to ſend into the four Cuarters of the World, to teach all men the ways of righteouſneſs, and bring them by the ſpirit of their mouth into my Sheepfold: ſo a publick Communion was celebrated, but they made it a full meal; A great feaſt (*r*) it was, both for the perſons and the meat, for they were above four thouſand men, and had three courſes: But between theſe courſes, there was a ſoul entercourſe, for the King accuſed a man of Treaſon, and cut off his head with his own

hand, and returned merry to supper; Then with his bloody hand he took upon him to administer the body and blood of Christ (*s*), assisted with the Queen (sometime *John Matthias* his wife) who then did the office of the Minister or Deacon, and administred the Communion (*t*); the like did the principal officers of the State, saying, Take this and announce the Lords death.

s ἑαυτοὺς ποιμάνοντες.

t Quis talia fando temperet a lachrymis!

After supper, the King asked the whole Congregation, whether they were all heartily disposed to do Gods Will, and to suffer and die for the faith; to which the people answered with one voice that they were all in that mind; then *Tuiscocurer* arose and said, Thus saith the Lord, chuse men among my people, to send into the 4 quarters of the world, (*u*) to do great wonders among the nations, & publish my wonderous things among the strange people; then he read a note of the names of those whom God had chosen for that legation (*w*) of whom himself was one; they were 26. (*Sleydan* saith two more) 7 were sent to *Osnburge*, 6 to *Cecsweld*, 5 to *Warendorp*, 8 to *Suzat*; To them the King gave certain pieces of Gold, with this inscription on the one side, *Unless one be born by water and by the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* On the other side, *The Word was made flesh, one God, one Faith, one Baptism.* They were to present that coin to every Town where their doctrine was not received, and leave (*x*) it there for a Testimony against them.

u Where will they stop.

w Our Quakers have men every where.

x The Apostles dust more dreadful then their gold.

These new Apostles went into the Cities where they were sent, crying in the streets that the people should

ſhould repent, and join with them, elſe they ſhould ſhortly periſh. With that noiſe having raiſed a tumult, they were apprehended & brought to the Magiſtrates, before whom they ſpread a cloak upon the ground, and threw their coin upon it; ſaying, that they were ſent by the Father to offer them peace, which if they refuſed, they would leave that coin amongſt them as a pledge of Gods wrath againſt their ungratefulneſs and hardneſs of heart. That the time was come, foretold by the prophets, that the whole world ſhould follow righteouſneſs which God would work by their King, and when he had made righteouſneſs to raign over all the world, that then he ſhould give up the Kingdom unto his Father.

Being queſtioned by the Magiſtrates, firſt with fair words, and after by tortures, about their faith, their converſation, and the ſtate of the City of *Munſter*, they anſwered that *none in the world but they* (*y*), had the true Doctrine, which they were ready to ſeal *with their blood* (*z*): that ſince the Apoſtles time the word of God had not been purely preached, and no juſtice was in the earth: That there was four great Prophets; two good, *David* of *Delft*, and *John* of *Leyden*; and two bad, the *Pope*, and *Luther*; but *Luther the worſt of the two* (*a*). Being asked by what Scripture they could juſtifie their unjuſt diſpoſſeſſing of ſo many good men from their houſes and goods, and making bold with their wives; They anſwered that the time was come foretold by Chriſt, that *the meek* (*b*) ſhall inherit in the earth; That in the ſame manner God had given

y The trick of all Seducers.

z Cauſa, non pœna, facit Martyrem.

a True Religion more hated then fals by Seducers.

b Meek with a witneſs.

the goods of the Egyptians to the *Israelites*, and among the goods (c) they reckoned the wives; That they might lawfully take many wives upon condition they should lye with them all till they were with childe; and when one was with child, they might take a new one in her stead. That they held women at 12 yeare of age, to be fit for husbands. That they put away barren women, or past child-bearing, and committed them to curators, as being *good for nothing* (d).

(c) Mad men reckon madly.

(d) Poor encouragement for women to follow their precious ways.

As for the provision of the Town, they said that S. *James* Church was all full of Malt. That they had barly for two years, and many thousand quarters of meal, and great store of Bacon: A false relation, for soon after they fell to eating of dogs and leather in *Munster*. They constantly affirmed that their King expected a great army out of *Holland* and *Friez*, which as soon as it was come, he would begin his expedition to subdue the world, and kill all Kings for their perverse administration of justice, and that they knew by revelation that their King of Sion would shortly be King of the whole earth. They persisted in denying all Magistrates but their own King (e), for which they were put to death, as enemies of all laws and order, and brands of sedition, and there was an end of that Apostleship, that should have preached a Gospel of rebellion over all the world.

(e) They can down with their own.

This legation was in *October* 1534. at which time *Munster* began to be short of victuals: this occasioned a plot of some of the Town to take the King, and send him bound to the Bishop. The plot was discovered

discovered to the King, who thought it not safe to make the Authors known; only he committed the Town and himself to twelve trusty Captains, to whom he divided a government in the air of several Provinces, sparing no Prince but the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, whom he hoped to draw to his party; And with his smooth tongue he pacified the people, assuring them that by Easter they should certainly be delivered from all their enemies.

The Princes of the Empire, seeing their danger, if this pretended King of the world came out and met with his confederates, met at *Goblents* as they had appointed, and took a course for the Bishops help, and the straight besieging of the Town; and sent letters to the people of *Munster* to represent them their fault and their danger; and that if they did not submit to their natural Prince, they should draw all the forces of the Empire upon them. This was about the end of *December*, 1534.

They answered many words in commendation of their holy purpose, yet nothing to the purpose, and sent private letters besides to the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, to perswade him to join with them, for the killing of all the wicked, and establishing the Kingdom of the righteous in the world; and they sent him a book of that argument, whose title was, *De restitutione* (*f*): the Lantgrave caused it to be answered by his Divines.

To draw towards the last Acts of that wild King, among the Prophets that were taken, one called *Henry Hilversum* was saved by the Bishop, who after some private conference with him, let him go;

f They should have thought of it now and writ less.

And he returning to *Munſter*, ſaid, that God had delivered him out of priſon by an Angel like *Peter*, and had ſent him to announce to the King that he had given him three rich Cities, *Amſterdam*, *Deventer*, and *Weſel*, which ſhould ſhortly embrace his party: The King gladly received *Hilverſum*, and made him one of his Court, and preſently diſpatched one *James* of *Kemp* to *Amſterdam* to bring that City to his obedience; which he was like to have done, having by his ſeditious doctrine ſtirred the moſt part of the people againſt the Magiſtrate, but that the Count of *Hochſtral*, Governour of *Holland*, oppoſed them with great wiſdom and with a high hand.

Soon after *John* of *Leyden*, hearing a report that many of his ſect in *Holland* and *Frize*, were wandring in great Troops like ſheep having no ſhepherd, ſent them one *John Giles* that had ſome skill in war, with a great ſum of money, charging him that like another *Moſes*, he would be their leader in the wilderneſs (*g*); and bring them to *Canaan*, that is, to *Munſter*. But when much time paſt, and he heard nothing of thoſe wandring *Iſraelites*, nor of their *Moſes*, he ſent the Prophet *Henry Hilverſum*, and one *John Nortell* into *Holland* and *Frize*, to haſten them, or raiſe new troops.

(*g*) Very true there they were.

For that expedition he had loaden *Henry Hilverſum* with ſo much Gold that he could ſcarce go, wherefore he went no further than the Biſhops camp, where he ſtayed. *John Nortell* went as far as *Deventer*, and ſoon after returned without effect. *Hilverſum* writ a ſenſible letter to the people of *Munſter*,

Munſter, wherein he acknowledged that his former Propheſies were impoſtures, and exhorted them to open their eys to ſee how they were deluded by a company of Raſcals; what beaſtly life they led, having violated all Laws of pudicity and honeſty, and what danger they were in, of a miſerable deſtruction.

Theſe letters moved the hearts of many that already were weary of that life; for their publike ordinary grew ſhort, and was reduced to one meal a day, and a ſhort one, where their community of goods was violated; for every one had his bread by weight: But while they faſted in the Town, they feaſted in the Court, for the King fared ſumptuouſly to the very laſt. Which one of his wives diſliking, ſaid once, that ſhe thought not that ſuch a courſe was pleaſant to God, that in the publike miſery, while ſome pined for hunger, others ſhould ſurfet with plenty. The King being told of it, brought her to the market place with his other wives, made her kneel down, and cut off her head, then made his other wives to ſing and give praiſes for it to their heavenly father. Then he led a dance (*h*), and commanded all the people to dance, and rejoice with him, though the poor people had no great heart to dance, being fed with bread and ſalt only.

h A mad dance from firſt to laſt.

At the ſame time two young men of the Town, weary of that fare, were taken running away, and brought back unto the King, who killed them both with his own hand. And to appeaſe the people, of whom many began to repent (*i*) of their error, and murmured againſt him, he made them a fine ſpeech, ſaying that he would never have thought that they being

i All are not left that are gone out of the way.

being born again by a new Baptiſm, would ſhew themſelves ſo impatient in their ſufferings for God's cauſe, whereas they ſhould have followed *Paul's* example, bearing hunger, nakedneſs and cold, to attain to the haven of ſalvation (*k*). That God was powerful enough to ſend them Manna and Quails from heaven. That he had great troops in *Holland* and *Frize* that would certainly come with great proviſion of victual, and beat the enemie back. That God had revealed unto him, that at Eaſter they ſhould be delivered for certain.

k It is eaſie to preach the croſs by them that wear the Crown.

To confirm the people, he would from that time appear every day abroad in his greateſt glory, and made his Queen ſhew her ſelf often with a crown of gold on her head, and royally attired and attended, and ſhe became that pomp very well for ſhe was of an exquiſite beauty; Himſelf altered one point of his ordinary pomp; for whereas the Bible was carried before him at his right hand, and a naked ſword on the left, he transferred the Sword (*l*) to the right hand, of which he gave this reaſon, that the Goſpel had been preſented to the impenitent world, but now the Sword came in the place, to deſtroy thoſe that had rejected the Goſpel. With ſuch toys and riddles he fed the eyes and the ears of the hungry people, much like the *Lydians* that invented games to paſs away their hunger in a year of famine.

l The ſword is the ſtrongeſt Argument.

Well, Eaſter came, and no help came; this put our Prophet King to his plunge; he ſhut himſelf up, fayning to be ſick, for ſix days; then he came forth and ſaid to the people, that in his ſickneſs God had ſet

him upon a blind Ass (*m*), and laid upon him the s of the whole multitude, whereby they were all de clean and free from their sins, and that was e deliverance which God had promised them at aster. Sure if ever there was a false Christ (*n*) this s one. Much did he rely upon the negotiation of *Geles* whom he dayly expected, beleiving as it s true, that he had a great party in *Holland* and *Frize*: And indeed *Geles* did all that the wit of man ould do to raise troops for his King in those Coun-ies, which he put all in combustion, as we shall ear in the following Chapter. But he was killed in a tumult which he had raised in *Amsterdam*, and some troops of his confederates that were coming to relieve *Munster*, were defeated in *Frize* at *Balswerd*.

This poor Lord of misrule, hearing those ill news cast off ll hope, and could no more put a good face to his desperate case; For famine was fierce in the town, bread was spent long ago; horses, dogs, and cats were consumed, the grass and the very roots were pickt out of the ground: and the people solicited from the camp, but more by their own extremity, were taking counsel to take the King, and deliver him to the enemie, to buy their peace. In that extremity the King commands the gates to be set open, and that as many as would should go forth: So in one day a thousand of all ages and sexes went out of the Town, and yeilded to the mercy of the Prince, who mildly received them (*o*), fed them, and let them go.

A few days after, famine increasing in the Town, the

m True, had judicialy made him a blind Asse.

n Another egregious in the West Country. *cf. Ellis* his *Pseudochristus* 1650.

o Mercie to many, justice on few, is both good policie and christianity.

the King proclaimed that as many as wanted [illegible] Gods help, should void the Town, saying wi[illegible] those that should forsake the faith, should [illegible] ken of God (p). Many were so blindly zealo[illegible] this speech staid them, & they chose rather to [illegible] in the Town, than seem to forsake the faith, [illegible] ny weary to feed upon starved mice, and [illegible] shoes, and lean Prophesies, harkened to good [illegible] sel, and took the safety that was offered the[illegible] *[illegible]ius Corvinus* a Lutheran Divine writes, [illegible] hath seen books whose covering was eaten [illegible] famine, and that when the town was taken, [illegible] half eaten were found in corners. Yet in the [illegible] ral famine, the King had six months provisi[illegible] and kept a good table to the very last.

They had not held out so long, but that th[illegible] ces met at *Coblents*, could not agree about [illegible] tribution, and so the siege went but slowly [illegible] the Emperour made them meet again at [illegible] April, where fifty thousand crowns a mon[illegible] granted to the Bishop for five months, and it [illegible] dered that after the taking of the Town, the [illegible] people should be spared, and that all the good [illegible] zens that were come out, or kept in by force, [illegible] have restitution of all their goods. By order [illegible] Princes, the Army was delivered to *Oberstey*[illegible] because the pay was slow, which made the [illegible] ers (q) discontent and mutinous, could do no [illegible] exploit.

Yet finally the town was taken in June 1555 [illegible] ving endured a siege of eighteen months. It was [illegible] ther yeilded nor forced, but surprized (r), by [illegible]

p True, but not of his Faith.

q Mercenary unless in the Devils Service.

r They perish by themselves. *Ut solim sic nunc.*

[illegible] of two that fled out of the town, and guided [illegible] souldiers in the night through the Town [illegible] where the water was fordable: they scaled [illegible], killed the watches, and put the next [illegible] of guard to the sword. The noise of it awaked [illegible] Townsmen, who by reason of their light supper, [illegible] a light sleep. They had time to make a [illegible] barrecado in the market place, and fought [illegible] a long time, putting the Bishops Souldiers [illegible] worse till they broke open one of the Town [illegible] and let in more men. The Townsmen seeing [illegible] oppress with number, craved quarter, [illegible] it; But the King resisted to the last, in [illegible] Church-yard, and was with much ado [illegible], with *Knipperdelling*; *Rotman* would not [illegible] but was slain in the conflict.

Lambert fu-tat.

The Bishop entred into the City the next day [illegible] 1500 horse, and brought out the spoil of the [illegible] from the souldiers, the citizens that had yeild- [illegible] were spared, but the fierce *Anabaptists* that could [illegible] be tamed, and lay hid in several holes, were [illegible] out and killed; some Souldiers having made [illegible] with the handsomest women, were poisoned [illegible] them, and found dead in their beds. This cau- [illegible] the death of many women, revenge being as [illegible] lust was before: the fairy Queen either esca- [illegible] or was killed, for it was not known what be- [illegible] of her.

The King and no King, was sent prisoner to a Ca- [illegible] four miles from *Munster*. He went thither some- [illegible] faster then he would, being tyed to the tail of [illegible] galloping horse [illegible], whereby his Majesty was no little

He had galloped enough, and was now at his journeys end.

little diſcompoſed, *Knipperdulling*, and *Krechting* another Prophet, were ſent priſoners to *Horſmar*: ſoon after, all three were brought to *Telget*; where the Biſhop asked *John* of *Leyden*, by what authority he had made himſelf King over his City and people: *John* of *Leyden* asked him again, who had given him any right or authority over that people? the Biſhop anſwered that he came to it by election of the Chapter and the people, and I (ſaid *John* of *Leyden*) came in by the will and calling of God.

Two Lutheran Divines, *Corvinus* and *Keyner*, were ſent to (*u*) conſer with *John* of *Leyden* and *Knipperdulling*: they made the firſt to abjure many of his errors, and found him tractable enough, and ſo that heard reaſon: But *Knipperdulling* like a mad beaſt, would neither hear nor anſwer reaſon, but ſtood only upon revelations, and a particular ſpirit (*w*): Of him *John* of *Leyden* complained much, ſaying, that he played the Pope and would affirm that he had the ſame power in things ſpiritual, as the King had in things temporal, and that it was fit there ſhould be one King for the temporal, and another for the ſpiritual. They were condemned and executed as Traitors and Rebels, being tied to a ſtake and pulled in divers parts of their bodies with hot pincers for an hour and more, and then ſtricken in the heart with a dagger; *Krechting* ſuffered the like death. *John* of *Leyden* ſhewed a great conſtancy, if perſiſting in evil may be called ſo; for being at the ſtake, and hearing his ſentence read, he maintained that he had indeed offended the Magiſtrate, but that he had not offended God (*x*). After their death

(*u*) A good courſe when orderly taken.

(*w*) The foundation of the Quakers.

(*x*) Pure! more afraid of Body then Soul.

death they were put in iron cages and hanged to a high steeple of S. *Lambart*; *John* of *Leyden* hanging higher than the two others.

So died that imaginary King of Justice by the hand of Justice, in the first year of his raign, being but six and twenty years of age, and there was an end of his Kingdom and his Propheſies: He was of a fair proportion (*y*), of an awful and yet lovely presence, of a present wit and strong judgment, eloquent, artificial, close, politique; All the Prophets and *Anabaptists* of *Munster* were fools but he (*z*), and he made use of their folly to serve his own ambition, which aspired to no less than the dominion of the world. He was indeed a dangerous instrument of Satan, likely to have made a fearful revolution, and planted a new Monarchy in the West of the world; for all the commons in a manner of *Germany*, *Low-countries*, *Moravia*, *Switzerland*, and other regions in all likelyhood would have joined with him, if he could once have come out of *Munster*, as may appear by the Chapters following.

(*y*) The Divil knows who to make use of.

(*z*) All fools but some wiser then some.

Chap. V.

The tumults of the Anabaptists *in* Low-Germany.

THe *Anabaptists* that made themselves masters of *Munster*, were deboyshed tradesmen of *Holland* and *Frize*, and there during the troubles of *Munster*, the same spirit was working with efficacy in the children of Rebellion (*a*): They had like projects, but worse success.

In *Febr.* 1534. some of them raising a sedition at the

(*a*) The Divil a Ubiquatery.

the *Hague* were apprehended and put to death. In *March*, letters came from the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, who was Lord of the *Low-Countries*, offering a free pardon to all of that sect, that would within a fortnight repent and confess their error, commanding withall that all persons persisting in that sect should be severely punisht according to the Law. Yet the same month, a great multitude of *Anabaptists* with their wives and children, leaving all their estates, but what they could carry in mony, offered to go over to *Overyssel* with twelve ships, and being asked whither they went, they said they went to seek such land as God would give them. But they were stayed, the Secretary of the *Hague* being sent in time to *Amsterdam* by the Emperor to dispatch a convenient number of ships to fight with them, unless they disbanded & returned home; it is like they were going to *Munster*, the Sion of the *Anabaptists*.

This restraint made them more fierce, like a stream that swels when it is stopt; for the next day at noon five *Anabaptists* came naked through the street with their swords in their hands, crying, *In the name of the Lord, The blessing of God lyeth upon one part of the City, and his curse on the other*. They were soon followed with others in arms, and the Magistrate raised in all haste some companies of Archers to oppose them: The authors of the sedition were taken, and all was quiet for that time.

The same day, such another sedition was raised at *Harlem*, in which six *Anabaptists* were slain, and two at the *Hague* were executed for the like cause. Shortly after, six of the most seditious were burnt

at *Harlem*, and two women drowned.

In *May* following, letters from *Frize* were read in the Counsel of *Amsterdam*, giving warning of a plot of the *Anabaptists* both of *Frize* and other parts, to meet in *Amsterdam* upon a certain day, and make themselves masters of the Town. Presently the Magistrates raised the Trained bands of the City, and made them stand in arms about the Town-house while they sate in Counsel; then a Proclamation was sent forth, that none in the City upon pain of death should harbor any stranger *Anabaptist*, & that all the *Anabaptists* that were in the City should void it before 5 of the clock in the afternoon; That whosoever should stay after that time, should be put to death, without any remission. Towards night the Magistrates sent to search all the houses and took twenty of them; Four days after the Count of *Hochstrate*, Governor of *Holland*, came into the City with great part of the Counsel of *Holland*; & then eleven of the *Anabaptists* were beheaded, and four burnt alive; Thirty six of that sect having abjured it, were condemned to walk in procession barehead & barefoot with white sheets about them, and burning torches in their hands; Before the month was ended, more were found, and more executed, nine beheaded, and four burnt, nothing but fire and sword could repress the seditious fury of that fanatical sect.

About this time two Prophets of *Munster*, *James* of *Kemp*, and *John Nathias* of *Middleborough*, were sent by *John* of *Leyden* into *Holland*, to raise there a party for him; *James* of *Kemp*, he had made Governor of *Amsterdam*, where he had as much

right to command, as in *Munſter*. Their comming to *Amſterdam* raiſed new tumults, which cauſed the Earl of *Hochſtrat*, to return in *September*, to confirm the people in the Emperors obedience: In his way he viſited *Leyden*, *Harlem*, and *Delfe*, and having called the Burgeſſes of the Cities, he concluded the deſtruction of all the *Anabaptiſts*. Being come to *Amſterdam*, he ſent for the Magiſtrates, chid them grievouſly for being ſo remiſſe in Executions, and preſently committed two noted *Anabaptiſts*; Upon which a rumour being ſpread in the City, that the night after, two hundred ſhould be taken and ſent bound to the *Hague*, there to be executed, a great multitude aroſe towards night, and ſtood in armes about the town-houſe, the Magiſtrates raiſed the trained bands, and came reſolved to fall upon them, but bloudſhed was prevented by the wiſe and moderate counſell of two of the beſt, who undertook to ſend them home with good words, and ſo they did; for having asked them why they aſſembled themſelves in the night in ſuch a tumultuous manner, the *Anabaptiſts* anſwered that they would not be taken ſleeping in their Beds; the Magiſtrates promiſed upon their faith and credit, that they ſhould receive no harm, and ſo they were quieted and disbanded: But this uprore did ſo fright the Count of *Hochſtrat*, that he withdrew himſelf preſently.

All theſe were but preludes to a greater miſchief, wrought chiefly by that pernicious inſtrument

ment *James* of *Kemp*, who lay hid in *Amsterdam* six months, appearing only in the night to keep Conventicles seducing the people: Herein he was strongly seconded by *John Geles*, sent by *John* of *Leyden*, to be a leader of the wandring brethren to *Munster*, as we said before, and that expectation made *Munster* hold out so long,

But *John Geles* being come to *Frize* and *Holland* found no wandring *Israel* in the desart, as it was reported in *Munster*, wherefore he went to the Cities, where he made a great party, and caused several insurrections, and yet was not seen in any for a long time.

In *January* 1535. it was discovered that the *Anabaptists* had a plot to set *Leyden* on fire by night, and although timely notice was given, fire was set in several places of the Town the houses were searched, and the heads of the conspiracy were taken togrther in one house, fifteen men and five women, the men were beheaded, and the women drowned. An. 1535.

The next month the *Anabaptists* plaid a mad prank in *Amsterdam*, in a womans house, whose husband was gone to the West-Indies; seven men and five women of that sect had a meeting, One of them *Theodoret* a Taylor, who bore himself for a Prophet, fell flat to the ground, and prayed with such vehemency, that he scared all the assistants out of their wits[b]: Then rising, as it were out of an extasie, I have seen (said he) God in his Majesty, and have spoken with him. I was wrapt up to Heaven, then I descended into Hell,

[b] Our Quakers these mens Apes.

Hell, and there ſearched every corner; the great day of the laſt Judgement is coming: and thou (ſpeaking to one of the company) art *curſed* for ever *c*, thou art not good enough *for Hell, thou ſhalt be caſt into the bottomleſſe pit d*. Then the poor condemned man, fell on his knees, craving pardon, and the Prophet pardoned him *e*, and announced him a full remiſſion of all his ſins. Again in the night they met in the ſame place, the Women having left their Husbands a bed. After four hours ſpent in prayer and teaching, the Prophet *f* be armed, *Cap a pe* (for in theſe Canonical robes he preached) firſt, put off his head-piece, then his corſlet, then his ſword, then his garments and his very ſhirt, and throweth all into the fire: then he commanded the company in authority of a Prophet to do the like, and ſo they did, Women and all, leaving not ſo much as a hair-lace to tye up their ſcattered hair, no covering to the body, no ſhelter to ſhame; for ſo was the Prophets pleaſure, that they ſhould caſt away all that came *out of the earth* g, and burnt it as a Sacrifice of ſweet ſavour unto *God*: yet you may think that the burning of ſo many cloaths, yeilded no very ſweet ſavour; and it was ſuch, that it awaked the Miſtreſſe of the houſe, that knew nothing of this meering, and made her riſe to ſeek where the burning was, for that ſmell made her afraid that the fire was in her ſhop, which was of woollen Drapery: being come to the place, ſhe ſaw *eleven naked* b bodies, and the Prophet commanded

c Curſing common with our Quakers.

d Learnedly ſpoken.

e Pope like.

f The ſpiritual pretender is mad, and the people given up to ſtrong deluſions.

g He forgot whence himſelf was.

b Admires not novel.

ded her to put off her cloaths, and set them in the fire, which she did: then the Prophet commanded them all to follow him, and do as he would do, and so rushed into the street, stark naked[i], and all his Disciples after him, running and crying horribly through the Town; woe, woe, woe, the Divine Vengeance, the Divine Vengeance: whereby they put the whole town in an uproar, the people thinking that the town was surprized by some enemy, they were all taken but one Woman that slipt out of the way, and were brought to the Magistrate, and as they stood *naked*[k] *in a full Court*, they could never be perswaded, neither by commands, nor threatnings, to put on garments, which were offered them, saying, that they must have no covering, for they were the naked truth. They were kept a while in prison, till the great conspiracy, two months after, and then were executed: the Mistresse of the house where the Conventicle was kept, was hanged before her own doors.

i These things would be incredible, but our times have put them out of doubt.

k The Devil makes hard harted, and bold of face, past grace, past shame.

In *March*, a thousand men of that Sect, came out of *Hainault* to *Holland*, and were repulsed in time before they gathered more strength.

The same month, three hundred *Anabaptists* fell upon the Monastery of *Balswerd* in *Frize*, rifled it, pulled down the Church, and trampled the Eucharist under their feet. *George Shenk* a great man of *Frize*, hearing of it, gathered presently a considerable number of his Tenants and Neighbours, and met the Rebels, offering impunity to all but ten. They answered, that they

would all live and dye together, and so they did; for they endured a Siege in the ruines of the Monastery, where they were all killed, or taken, and executed after, saving only threescore and two men that fled.

The frequent seditions in all parts of *Holland* were hardly represt with frequent executions, for *John Geles* was raising seditions from City to City, to frame a party for his King. A cunning plotting projector he was, and by his leading the Monastery of *Bolswerd* was taken; his intent was to go with his troop to *Munster*, and gather more strength as he went: But being defeated by *George Shenk*, he fled to *Amsterdam*, changed his name, and went for a Merchant; for by the several confessions of many that were executed for Sedition, the name of *Geles* was known, and grown famous for the primo author of all the factions of *Holland* and *Frize*.

In that City he found many fit subjects for his delusions: to whom he told wonders of the new Kingdome of righteousnesse at *Munster*, their liberty of life, *their pillaging of Churches*, and enriching themselves with the substance of the ungodly, and of the great designes of their King, and the prophesies of the propagation of his Kingdome in the world.

Dulcis odor lucri ex re qualibet. Gain gains followers. Disciples enough, if any thing to be got.

By such discourses he filled the mindes of the people with a frantique zeal, and made them long to be fingering of the Chalices and Plates of Churches and rob the Silver and Gold of the Ægyptians. There was then one *Henry Goethbelit*

belit in the Town, a proper ſtrong man that had much followed the Wars, and had got a great reputation of Valour: this man was won by the *Anabaptiſts*, and made by *Geles* his aſſociate and partner of all his Councels.

And becauſe *Geles* was in great fear to be known by his right name (for the only changing of his name by the Lawes of the Countrey was puniſhable by death) he was perſwaded by his friends to go to the Court of *Brabant*, and there confeſſe his fault, and buy his pardon (which he might well, for he had brought a great ſum of money out of *Munſter*) and then return and converſe freely and openly, with his own name, and have more liberty and opportunity to bring his deſignes to action.

He went then to the Court, where Queen *Mary* of *Portugal*, ſiſter to *Charles* the fifth, was Governeſſe of the ſeventeen Provinces, and ſped ſo well, that not only he obtained his pardon, but got a great truſt in the Court, promiſing to deliver the City of *Munſter* to the Emperour. To that effect he got a Commiſſion under the Great Seal, with a good ſum of money, to leavy Soldiers for that ſervice.

Having thus cozened the Court, he returned to *Amſterdam*, to cozen the Magiſtrates, who ſeeing his Commiſſion, and the greatneſſe of the deſigne, would emulate the truſt repoſed upon him by their Superiors, and ſhewed him much favour; he took his lodging in the Spaniſh Ordinary, conſorted with men of that Nation and

n With fair speeches. *Paul Bom.* 16. 18. Διὰ τῆς χρησολογίας καὶ εὐλογίας ἐξαπατῶσι.

Religion, *gave fair words* m *to all*, which made the Magistrates secure, and himself unsufferable. He made such use of that liberty, that in a short time, he had contrived a most politick enterprise, to make himself Master of the City. In a night meeting, he announced to his brotherhood the Oracle of *Henry Hilversum*, that God had given to the King of *Sion* *Amsterdam*, *Wesell*, and *Daventer*, for the first-fruits of his raign over the world, perswading them that to invade *Amsterdam* was an easie matter, having but to do with a few idle Bellies, and that they had a fair opportunity at hand, to kill them altogether in the Town-house the twelfth of the instant *May*, a day kept festival by antient custom, by the society of the Crosse, who used to make a great Feast at night in the Town-house, and invite all the Magistrates, and men of means of the City, and there to spend most part of the night in drinking, and looking upon fire-works: That day then was designed for the enterprize, and their enemies noted and designed for the slaughter, and the richest houses already shared amongst them: they appointed for the signal of their rising, the ringing of the Bell in the Town-house: Before they parted, *John Geles* gave to every one a Ducat for a bond of society and secrecy. He and *Henry Goethelit* were to be the leaders.

The appointed night being come, some *Anabaptists* were up before the signal, which the rest looking for, stayed so long, that the enterprize

prize was disappointed; for the same day the Belrope was taken out of the way by a drunken fellow, yet by an admirable providence of God *n*, watching for the safety of the City, and so there was no ringing, and no great meeting: The Magistrates and the society of the Crosse, hearing that the *Anabaptists* were up in armes, left their sport and went home. Yet the Magistrates were so long consulting, that they were almost surprized by their enemies, who rushed with Colours flying, and Drums beating, into the Town-house, and killed some of the Serjeants and Waiters, and made the Masters that went before, to go out of their Aldermans pace to save their lives. Then coming to the great place where the Bonfires were burning, they overthrew them, that they might give more terrour, and shoot undiscerned upon the multitude; they killed many in the dark with Bullets, which they had poisoned for fear of failing, and the Burgmaster *Peter Colin* being come to encounter them with a Troop of Citizens, was by them slain, and his men put to flight, then one *Goswin*, a man of great authority in the City, and one that had valour and skill in War, commanded that the streets should be stopt with great sacks of Hops heaped up to be instead of Gabions, against the shot of the *Anabaptists*: And because he trusted not in the fearful and unexperienced Citizens, he called Volunteers, to whom he promised a months pay for that dayes service; by that means he got many that had seen

n God above all, rules over all, so may *England*

seen War before, and made a gallant Company.

The night being dark, he could attempt nothing till day, onely he took an order that all the wayes to the market place (where the *Anabaptists* stood in armes) should be stopt, and that the rest of the people should keep at home without noise: this order frighted the *Anabaptists*, seeing no hope to be assisted by their brethren, who for want of the signal of the Bell were not come, and now it was too late for them to come, the waies being stopt, and having lost the first opportunity of the fright of the people, who now were come to themselves, and stood upon their defence. Then *Goetbelit* said to *Geles*, this was my fear, that beginning this enterprize with so few, we should come short of it (for they were not above forty) now all that we have to do is to dye *like men* o. Nay (said *Geles*) if you will believe a Prophet, we shall be Masters of the City before to morrow ten of the clock: then they sung p *Psalms* all night, at the break of day, the people perceiving them, began to shoot at them, which made them retire into the Town-house, and there keep strong; the people brought Ordinance before it, and were ready to have battered it down, but *Goswin* would try first to assault the door, which was done with effect, although the *Anabaptists* fought it out stoutly, and but twelve of them were taken, the rest were killed, & *Goetbelit* one of them. *John Geles* that would by any means cozen

o They could not as Christians.

p Now against singing.

cozen the hangman of his fees, got upon a little Steeple where the Town Bell hung, and gave a fair mark to the Soldiers below, who shot him thorow, whereof he fell down dead into the place. The prisoners were executed and some more of the town, and some living without the gates, who hearing shooting of guns, were come to pillage the City, supposing that it was taken. Two women were hanged, and two drowned for poisoning the Bullets; many more since were executed, and amongst others some of those that daunced that Antique Masque of naked Men and Women, and a Woman and her Son, for receiving *James* of *Kemp*, contrary to the order of the Magistrate. For it had been proclaimed in the Town, that whosoever should harbour him, and not discover him before night, should be hanged at his door, but he that should discover him, should have a great reward. He was found hid in a heap of turves, and executed with ignominy, having a two horned Miter on his head, because he played the Bishop. His tongue was cut off, wherewith he had preached Sedition, and his hand wherewith he b prized without authority.

A little before the great plot, fourteen had conspired when a solemn procession should go over the bridge, to throw the Eucharist and them that carryed it, down the bridge into the water, the plot was detected, and the Authors executed.

John Geles had warned three hundred men of

Iselswin

Iſelſwin, to meet him at *Amſterdam*, three or four dayes after the intended enterprize, intending with that Garriſon to keep the Town; They came neer it, but hearing how matters went with their brethren, they diſperſed themſelves preſently, and returned home by ſeveral wayes: He had appointed more ¶ *brethren* from ſeveral places, to come at a certain day; but they hearing the ill ſucceſſe of their tribe, took their way into *England*, in two Ships, and here it ſeemeth they have ſtayed ever ſince.

¶ In wickedneſſe.

And now the heart of that Faction was broken in all the *Low-Countreys*, for they left not ſearching and executing in every City, till all that Generation was extinct or brought ſo low, that they left plotting. Ten years after, ſome reliques of that Faction would offer to ſtir at *Leyden*, the Authors being taken and examined, confeſt that the *Anabaptiſts* had choſen a King, who was not crowned yet, and was to ſucceed *John* of *Leyden*, and another to be his high Treaſurer and that both were at *Utrecht*. Both were apprehended, and kept ſome months in priſon. Among other exploits of that elected King, he had brought his Wife into a Wood, and there killed her, that without interruption he might lye with her daughter, and had lately cut a young wenches throat leaſt ſhe ſhould detect him; good ſtore of Plate was found in his houſe, moſt of it Church Plate: It ſeems that party began to make a ſtock for a new Kingdome, the King and his Treaſurer were burnt. That was the laſt ſpark of that faction till our times.

CHAP.

CHAP. 6.

Of the Anabaptiſts *of* Switzerland, *and other places.*

THE South of *Germany*, was not free from that Sect, at *Zurick* they began to pick a quarrel with [a] *Miniſters*, who did their beſt to reduce them with reaſon and mildneſſe: for eight or nine weeks together, they conferred with them every Tueſday, and being overcome in diſpute, they fled to Revelations, their ordinary ſanctuary, falling into a Trance before the company, and when they waked out of it, ſaying that they had a Revelation that the doctrine of *Zuinglius* was damnable, and *Anabaptiſme* holy, and that the day of Judgement ſhould be within two years. Daily they prophecyed in the Market-place, girded about *with a rope* [b], or a with, calling the chief Miniſter of the place (*John Gaſtio*) the antient Dragon, and his Collegues the heads of the Dragon; boaſting of their holineſſe (which conſiſted much in the teaching the rich men community of goods) and crying in the ſtreets, woe, woe, woe, to the City of *Zurick*; ſome went ſo far, as to give forty dayes time to *Zurick*,

[a] Their great quarrel is againſt them.

[b] The due deſert of ſuch.

Zurick as *Ionas* did to *Nineve*, after which it must be destroyed. After a long patience of the Magistrate they were put in Prison, where they were again convented in conference by the Ministers, and many times conducted by their Keepers to a publick meeting, where all the people might hear the conference. Finding themselves short of reason, and confuted by Scripture, they would answer, that what they could not prove by Reason and Scripture, they would prove by their bloud. Thus ten conferences were held, and two of them in the Church, every conference lasting three dayes, where they got so much discredit to their cause, that the number of their Sectaries decreased much, and the Senate proclaimed, that if any should re-baptize such as were baptized already, he should be drowned. And so many were baptized the third time, and *Zurick* was in peace.

The Genius of that Sect was every where alike, for they went from City to City where they heard that reformation was received, (not to any Popish town) and whersoever they came, they presently troubled the State, and filled all with clamour and sedition. By them was the town of *Waldut* miserably ransacked, and all the Inhabitants driven away out of their possessions: The like they were like to have done at *Worms*, at *Ausburg*, at *Bazel*, at *Shafuse*, at *Berne*, at *Lucerna*, at *Passaw*; I will not weary the reader with all these passages, their actions at *Munster* and *Amsterdam*, are sufficient to give a Character

ractor of that Sect, and I aim at no more, *Crimine ab uno, disce omnes*; I will adde but a few more of their maximes, and some passages of their behaviour; observing no order of time, for my authors observe none.

It were an endlesse task to rehearse their several errors, which because all among them were Preachers, could not but multiply *in infinitum*: They held among other things, that rebaptized men cannot sin, because they are Gods children; that all Ministers that hold Church-livings, are from the Devil: that the Apostles had nothing proper, but went from house to house; some would say that they had no need of the Lords Prayer, because they prayed by the Spirit; many denyed the God-head of Christ[e] and for that two were executed at *Newcastle*. In *Moravia* especially that opinion was received, which Countrey because of the looseneſse of the Government swarmed with *Anabaptists*, and was cryed up by the Sectaries of *Switzerland* and upper *Germany*, for a land of Promise, and thither many of them removed their household, when they found themselves repreſt.

[e] Arrian. Anabaptists.

One of them committed a notable imposture, In the night time he put a great number of Fishes in a foul puddle, where the people used to wash Horses, and in the morning he Propheſied, thus saith the Lord, cast Nets in this Puddle, and you shall get good Fish, a thing incredible, for never any Fish was seen there. But at his word, his Disciples

cast

cast the Net, and enclosed multitude of Fishes, so that the Net brake. Thus the profane Raskall would imitate the miracle of Christ, and God in his anger gave efficacy of error to that false miracle which deceived many.

By *Basel* there was an uproar of some Villages who would have three things, abolish all Tithes, pull down all Magistrates, and kill all the ungodly, but they were stopt in time, and disbanded and fined. The ground of these attempts of the *Anabaptists* in so many places, was a †*dream* they had of a temporal Kingdome of Christ, with whom all the godly should raign in Earth without any infirmity of Body or Soul, all Gods enemies being destroyed first, for all *Anabaptists* were and are still *Chiliasts*, expounding litterally that Kingdome of a thousand years, of *Rev.* 20. 6. to be a temporal Kingdome. That fancy put many of them out of their wits, all the Histories that speake of them, relate many examples of their looking seriously for the coming of the Lord upon such a night, being warned by Revelation, which made them fast and pray that night, and put all their businesses out of order.

† That Dream is not yet fallen asleep.

Much conference they had with the Angell *Gabriel*, and one of their women, a very poor one, saw him to her thinking, in a vision, bidding her to lay the cloth, and invite her neighbour, and that God would send her Manna and Quails

from

from heaven, but none came, and the Neighbours put up their knives, and went home having had long graces, but no meat. Another woman had a revelation that God would keep her alive without meat, and she fasted to death.

Under pretence of childish innocency, they played many mad pranks, one having kept his excrements in store many days, powred it into the street, and turned himself naked into it, saying for his reason, that unlesse we be made like little children, we cannot enter into the Kingdome of heaven. Others for the same reason, would ride naked upon sticks and hobby horses like children, in great companies, and women would run naked with them, and then in pure innocency they lay together, and so in the end it proved childrens play indeed. (g)

Mad feats might have been suffered or represt with mild courses, but their general design to pull down all Magistrates, and kill all the ungodly, that is, all that were none of their sect, provoked the just severity of the princes and Commonwealths against them; and for 20. years, many thousands of them were killed, burned and drowned, till their reliques were so contemtible, that they were let alone for compassion.

g As the Quakers in *Colchester.*

Chap. I.

Of our English-Quakers, name and practise.

YOu have heard a sad story *from abroad*, a acted in the theatre of *Germany*, which *surely* hath not been takenn otice of, without *detestation* and *amazement*.

Now *b* we draw neerer home, and come to give in a brief account of somewhat done in *our land*, and in *our times*.

All to one and the same end.

viz.

1. *To caution thee*, that thou beest not deceived.
2. *To excite thee to be thankfull*, if thou still standest in the truth, stedfast, and immovable, rooted (*c*) therein.
3. *To provoke thee to pray*, for the *purity*, *establishment* and *peace* of Gods Church, the *eye-sores* of the Divell, and *vexation* of his instruments, but the *desire*, *endeavour*, and *joy* of the naturall sons of *Zion*.

Of late years, under the Sun-shine of *too generall* a toleration, there hath sprung up a sort of people, generally called *Quakers* from the *quaking*

a *L.* 1. of the Anabaptists.
b *L.* 2 of the Quakers.
The end of the Author.
c Ἐρρυζωμένοι, πεθεμελιωμένοι. Ἐποικοδομημένοι καὶ βεβαιούμενοι. Their name *quoad Etymologiam* Theyown it not, but are so called.
d See *Gilpin* c. 2. & *Tilderry*, c. 3.

quaking and *trembling* of their bodies, in a *very strange* and *uncouth* manner, when (either really or pretendedly) acted by another spirit (*d*) then their own.

For the *justification* of it, they abusively alledge (*e*) those Scriptures that mention any thing of *quaking*, or *trembling* in the Saints, at *any time*, or upon *any occasion*:

Not considering,

1. That some speeches are ὑπὲρ βολικῶς *hyperbolically* spoken.
2. And others intimate to us the *extraordinary* operations of the *Holy Ghost*.

But they think it sufficient with *empty sounds*, to deceive the *simple* (*f*) they themselves in the *interim*, enervating *ad placitum*, when they please, the *sacred* authority of *divine* writ, as shall afterward be made manifest, (*g*)

1. *Their Assemblies*] they hold without any difference of *time* or *place*, but as opportunity offers *in them*; *formerly* a great part both of their Men and Women did *extraordinarily* quake, *even* to the dread and affrightment of the * beholders, but now *more rare and seldome*.

2. *Their language*] to themselves *peculiar*, so that by it they may be known, in a *small* matter they pretend *much* conscience, and put *much* in these little words *thou* and thee, * but if a little provoked *then* they shew their tongues *to be set on fire of Hell, railing, cursing, and blaspheming*, yea damning them with whom wrathfully dis-

How they justifie Quaking. Answ. to *Westmerland* position. p. 35. ἐστρεβλῶσε Answ.

f Τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀκάκων.

g Ex ore adversarii 1. Their assemblies ‖ See c. 1. example 1. & elsewhere *Westmorl.* petition, c. 11. 2. Language. ἡ λαλέα σου ὁμοιάζει.

* There is a Book in defence of it called *The pure language of the Spirit of truth.* Ἡ γλῶσσα φλογιζομένη ὑπὸ τῆς γεέννης.

k As will appeare c. 5. example 2. διυλίζοντες τὸν χωνωπατὸν, κάμηλον καταπίνοντες.

displeased, (k) which evidence they *strain at a Gnat*, and swallow a *Camel*, their mouths so narrow that *you* cannot passe, and yet when mov'd, their mouths are *full* (l) of cursing and evil speaking this is *legible in printed characters*, their phamphelts will sufficiently shew it.

3. Behaviour.

3. *Their behaviour* is, *hail* fellow *well met*; and though they have a *skew of humility*, yet are they *big with swollen pride*; for as if neither *God* nor *Nature* nor *State* had made any difference of persons, they will uncover to none, nor give any titles of Honour, witnesse their proud, sullen, and clownish behaviour, not only toward persons of a *lower ranck* but before *Magistracy* it self.

1 אלה פיהו מלא

Their reason. Answered.

m λανθάνει γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦτο δίλοντας.

Upon the pretence of calling no man *Father*, & that they may not be guilty of worshiping the creature, many of them being *willingly ignorant* (m) of the difference between *cultum divinum & civilem*, *divine* and *civil* honour.

2. Others (the moreignorant of them) being misled by misunderstanding the language and scope of Scripture.

N. B.

Yet this is remarkable, when they should not, they will strangely allegorize; I wish *Origens* mischance do not befall them.

4. Their food and rayment.

* 7. Naylor. Parnel.

4. *Their food and rayment*] *too abstemious* in the first, and *almost sordid* in the last, sometimes fasting many dayes; * at other times living a long while on a little bread and water, going in any mean habit, without (as we use to say) welt or guard, no Lase, Cuffes, Hatbands, &c.

taking

taking an occasion hereby the more to inveigh against gluttony, drunkennesse, pride, covetousnesse, &c. That by this means they might gain a great opinion among simple well minded people, who consider not that the *Divel doth transforme himself into an Angel of Light* (n) and suits his temptation as may best suit with them he hath to do with, that apt we are to seek a righteousnesse of our own.

The reason.

n Ὁ σατανᾶς μεταχημα[τ]ίζεται εἰς ἄγγελον φωτός.

5. *Their praneks*) may well be termed *mad prancks*, many times so far from (*quod decet Christianis*) *Christianity* and reason that they have not in them *aliquid humanitatis* what becomes reasonable creatures.

5. Prancks See *Gilpin* c. 2. & *Tolderrys* story, c. 3.

And therefore, because they cannot bare them out by such principles, they betake themselves to, 1. *occult revelations*, 2. *the operations of the spirit*, 3. *the voice of God within them*; so fathering on the most *High* what they dare not on nature *be low*, and what *natura naturata*, nature abhors, they make to be pleasing *naturæ naturanti* to the God of nature, so that they may fitly be termed ἄλογα ζῶα, unreasonable ones.

Church disturbers

Ἀντιλέγον τοῖς λογομένοις ἀντιλέγοντες καὶ βλασφημοῦντες

p 1 Cor. 14. 35. Αἰσχρὸν γυναιξὶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ λαλεῖν.

1 *Great disturbers of Church assemblies*] both their men and *women*, interrupting Ministers in the midst of their preaching, contradicting and blaspheming (o) καὶ βλασφημοῦντες.

The women, who should be *cloathed with modesty*, and are prohibited by Apostolicall injunction (p) to speak in the Church, denuding themselves of all shamefacednes, with *brazen*

γυναικὶ δὲ διδάσκειν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω,

faces vent their *brain-sick phancies* under pretext of *impulsion of the Holy Spirit.*

1. *This they doe in the greatest assemblies.*

2. *In ways disorderly*] as if God himself were the author of * confusion.

* ἀκαταστασίας,

Yet many times so far can they imprison their pretended impulses, as to abstain, when they may otherwise incur the *penalty of the Law*, by speaking to the disturbance of holy performances, consulting their *own safety* rather then venting what they pretend to be impulsed unto, *impellunt impulsum* they force the impulse.

N. B.

2. Go naked.

2. *Go naked*] *frequently in the streets* (*h*) exposing their nakedness to publique view, and boulster out their immodesty by the Prophets *going naked*; as if they had

(*h*) instances divers afterwards. Chap. 5.

1. *The self same warrant.*

Proof

2. And the Prophet going as naked as themselves *with the discover of his shame*, yea, men and *women* have appeared so in the *publique Assemblies* on the *Lords-day*, neither being restrained, 1. by the holyness of the time, nor 2. having respect at all to divine Ordinances, nor 3. society of the Saints, altogether unmindfull of that of the Apostle *that would have the women to have a covering on their heads, because of the* (r) *Angels*, but as if the *holy* God would have his *holy* Day, Ordinances and Assemblies affronted with that which puts nature it self to the blush, they weigh not, *we have no such custome*, when they tend not what *nature* it self touches.

Answer.

r 2 Cor. 11.10. διὰ τοῦτο ὀφείλει ἡ γυνὴ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους.

1 Cor. 11. 16. τοιαύτην συνήθειαν οὐκ ἔχομεν.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of *John Gilpin* of *Kendal* in *Westmerland*.

BUt that you may not be ſerved up and put off with a *general* information only we ſhall be willing to take the pains to give you ſome account of particulars, and begin with three that have made themſelves known to the world, *viz. Gilpin*, *Tolderry*, and *Naylor*.

L. 2. C. 2. Of Gilpin.

C. 2. 3. 4.

1. *John Gilpin* of *Kendal* in *Westmerland* in May 1653. went to a meeting of *the Quakers* at *Richard Newberys*, where *Chriſtopher Atkinſons* (a) drift in his ſpeaking was *to deny all miniſteriall teaching and ordinances*, (b) *and that we ought to become as if we never had learned, and to be taught of God within our ſelves by waiting upon an inward light*] after which he was affraid to read *any good books* or hear *any Miniſter* or to remember *any thing which he had learned out of Gods word*.

Gilpin Quakers ſhaken, p. 2.

a A notorious Quaker.

b Well ſtruck at once.

Going a ſecond time to one of their meetings, he had ſome conference by the way, in which *Robert Colliſon* (c) affirmed *that Chriſt had his failings* (d) *for he diſtruſted God on the Croſſe*: he that then was *Speaker* perſwaded the people to hearken to a *voice within them*, after which he reſolved to wait for the manifeſtation of theſe things in himſelf.

c A Quaker

d Yet they muſt be perfect. *p. 3. f. 8.*

A

A third time he ſpake to them at your meeting that he would not joyn with them, if they were of *Colliſſons* mind, to which ſome of them (after much whiſpering) (*e*) anſwered negatively.

There is cunning in daubing.

At a fourth meeting *Atkinſon* was ſpeaker, when he ſpake much of the experience he had from God from the light within him, which light *Gilpin* not finding was much troubled, yet expected the appearance of that light, and earneſtly deſired that he might fall into quaking and trembling.

After his departure from them, walking in his chamber he began to *quake* and *tremble* ſo extreamly that he could not ſtand * but was forced to fall upon his bed, where he *bowled * cryed in a hideous manner to the great aſtoniſhment of his Family*: when he had thus continued about half an hour, he ceaſed from howling gradually, after which he roſe rejoycing, thinking now that he could bear witneſſe againſt the *Miniſters* as *falſe Prophets* becauſe he never found *ſuch effect* under their Miniſtry.

* No ſtanding before the Devil but in Gods ſtrength * Much of the ſame in others, hereafter.

Going to bed, he was much troubled all that night with dreams concerning his condition, and had *a diſcovery of his ſins * in particular*, eſpecially of his covetouſneſſe: afterwards awake and thinking upon thoſe dreams he ſenſibly perceived ſomething (as he imagined) lighting upon his neck, and giving him a great ſtroke, which cauſed much pain, & after that another third

P. 4.

ſ The Divel will come and diſcover as ſerves his turn.

third, and fourth, which ſtroke leſſe then the former and lower down till it came to the middle of his back, and then he thought ſomething entred his body, which he perſwaded himſelf to be *the ſpirit* and heard (in his conceit) *a voice within him*, it is day, looking up he anſwered, *yes, the voice* twice replyed *as certainly as it is light, ſo certainly ſhall Chriſt give thee light.*

After this he continued two or three dayes waiting for further diſcoveries, ſometime wrapt up into *exceſſive joy*, and again exceedingly dejected with fears of his condition, whether really good or under deluſions: yet ſtill waited and walking into the Garden, lying down on the ground with his face to the earth, his right hand began to ſhake, ſo as *he could not hold it ſtill*, (g) whilſt he was wondring what the meaning ſhould be, apprehending himſelf to be ſtaken by the hand, he was brought into *a rapture of joy*, (h) imagining it to be a figure of his marriage with Chriſt, then he was raiſed and ſet on his feet, again turned and laid on his back at which his ſins were particularly brought to mind, * and at remembrance of every ſin, his hand was carried round about with giving a pat on the ground and then he imagined he heard *a voice* ſaying, *now ſuch a ſin is mortified*; of which being *perſwaded*, (k) the *power* he was *acted* by permitted him to riſe ſaying, *Aſk what thou wilt of the Father, and he will give it?* he replyed, *he knew not what* to aſk, but deſired *that power* to teach him, he bid him aſk wiſdome whereupon he

g Acted.
h All joy is not heavenly.
* Remember our ſin, God, Divel, Conſcience.
i A poor mortification.
k without ground

he desired also that God would give him such things as were most for his glory and the good of others, the *power* answered that his request was granted, and that he should be endowed with the *spirit of prophecy* and singing praises to God.

p.5. *l* Small satisfaction.

Herewith being *satisfied* (*l*) he went to the fifth meeting, where *Atkinson* being *Speaker*, he was *much more affected* (*m*) then formerly; after he had done, *Gilpin* being ready to go away, *the wife* of the house took him by the hand, and wringing it very hard, bad him sit down again, which he did, and presently *John Audland* (*n*) stood up, saying, *Cannot ye watch one hour?* &c. In the time of his speaking *Gilpin* was drawn from where he sate, and thrown upon the ground, in the midst of the Company, where he lay all night; all which time his body and all the members of it were in motion, being turned from his back to his belly and so back again, several times, making (*o*) crosses, continually with his legs one over the other, his hands were carried too and fro on the ground as if writing; in which motions (he saith) he acted not in the least, but was altogether passive.

m The stirring of affections no true signe of edification.

n Quakers of whom c.11.

Christum non crucum abhorret diabolus.

p.6. *q* perswasions without ground lead men into a fools paradise.

He *was perswaded* (q) *it was the immediate power of Christ*, and he ird (he thought) *a voice, that that writing with his hand upon the ground did signifie the writing of the law in his heart.* Having lain all night upon the ground, as aforesaid, the power moved his hands to his head and

and laid them on the top thereof, fast closed together; whereupon he heard *a voice*, (r) *Christ in God and God in Christ and Christ in thee*; which he was compelled to sing before the company, *in a strange manner, with such a voice as was not naturally his own*; he sang also diverse phrases of Scripture, given into him, after which he was raised fom the ground and set on his feet by the power within him, which bad him be (s) humble, and brought him down again upon his knees, and with a whispering voice said, *stoop low, low*; and having stooped neer the ground with his face, it said, *Take up the Crosse and follow me*: arising, he was led out of the house to the river, and thence into the town, drawn down the street, and caused suddenly to turn to a door (himself not knowing who lived in the house) two of the company following him all the time, and seeing him go to the door, said, *whither wilt thou go? this is the Fidlers* (t) *house*: he answered, *whose house soever it is, Christ* (u) *leads me hither; and therefore I must go:* (w) Whereupon his hand was carried to knock, and he commanded to say, *behold, Christ stands at the door and knocks.* The Fidler opened and *Gilpin* was led into the house not speaking to him, where his hand was carried to a *Base-viall* hanging up, he took it down and began to play upon it, and was *immediately compelled* to fall a dancing, hereupon he questioned the *power*, to which *the voice*, replyed, *this is not because I love Musick, for I hate*

r *Vox & præterea nihil.*

s A great shew of humility may consist with a great deal of pride.

t A merry Divell.

u How far wide when the Divell taken for Christ.

w Needs must when the devil drives.

*Enough to shew it was the Divel, for if he did not he lied if he did, not God,

hate * *it*; *but to signifie what joy there is in heaven at thy conversion, as also wha spirituall motion thou shalt have hereafter.* Then he was led out of the house into the street, and through the town, being moved to proclaim as he went, *I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life*; after which he was brought to his home. *Will. Dodding*, going along with him, acknowledged that he had *no power to leave him at the time*, being at home he was cast on the ground, and

p. 7. caused to make circles round the house *the power* telling him, *that he was putting off the old man*; his hand was carried to take up a stone on the floor which to him seemed to be in the fashion of a heart, *the voice* telling him, *that*

y What is poor man when deluded. *Christ had taken that stone out of his heart,*(y) *& given him a heart of flesh*; and his hand was moved to hold it out to the Spectatours, and his fancy to say, *Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe*; and throwing the stone amongst them, he said, *low here is my heart* of stone, afterwards being cast upon the ground on his back, the voice spake, *thou shalt have two Angels to keep thee*: whereupon two Swallows came down the Chimny and set upon a shelf over against the place where he lay and he cryed to by standers *my Angels my Angels*, * he held out his hand towards them, expecting them to come to him, but they went up the Chimny, though both the Doors and Windows were open.

* Poor man if no better kept.

He was carried out of the doors, by the *power*

ver upon his *Hands and Knees* into the ſtreet, which his wife and others laboured to hinder, but he told them he would leave all to follow Chriſt, in that manner he went up the ſtreets thinking he bore a Croſſe on his neck, and continued in this motion, till ſome pulled him out of the mire & dirt and by force carried him into the houſe, whereupon he was moved to point to one of them that brought him in, and to ſay, *Chriſt points at thee, thou art a wicked woman and haſt hindred the work of the Lord.* Then the *voice* asked him *where his Croſſe was* telling him he had ſcattered it, whereupon he was moved to make a Croſſe with his finger on the floor and forced to ſet his head upon it, playing topſy turvy, * thinking then he had taken up his Croſſe. In thoſe actions he was kept along while having many Scripture expreſſions given in, to the admiration of all that heard him, ſometime he was forced to leap and dance, this expreſſion being given into him, *now have I finiſh'd the work which thou gaveſt me to doe,* (z) thinking his redemption then fully accompliſh'd: but his joy continued not; for he was caſt down again, and the *voice* told him, *he had offended God in attributing that to himſelf was proper to Chriſt* (a) whereupon he was caſt upon the ground and lying on his belly he was forced to lick the duſt, & his hand carried extraordinarily upon his head, having *a voice* given him, *that no ſin muſt go unpuniſhed*, ſo creeping up and down the houſe he heard *a voice, where is thy Croſſe?*

* Poor man the Divels May game

z You ſee whom & what the Divil delights to abuſe.

a Good but not to a good end.

Crosse? upon which looking aside, he thought he saw a Crosse hanging in a thread, which with his hand, he put behind his neck, he was kept in this posture all the day, when many Quakers came into him, who spake, *be lowly, mind thy condition and hearken to the voice within.* His strength being almost spent and his body much consumed by continual restlesnesse, two Quakers offered to watch with him that night but he refused, after this he began to question (b) whether the power he was acted by was Divine or Diabolical? whereupon he was struck with fear, and his hand was carried to take up a Knife, which done, his hand was carried towards his throat, and the *voice* said *open a hole there* (c) *and I will give thee the* words *of eternall life*; whereupon he answered, *what with a Knife?* and so threw it away, his wife in the next room hearing him, came out and desired him to go to bed, which he did, & in the morning, he thought a divel went out of him, at which instant he *roared most hideously*, crying, *now is the Divel gone out of me*: at which instant he and his family heard it thunder, (though none in the Town beside) which made him think it was the Divel, soon after the same power came and told him, *that it was Satan that had possest and led him heretofore, but now Christ was come, and he had cast out Satan, and convinced him, that what ever he had don was in obedience to Satan, and that as he had serv'd the Divel before in his cloathes, so now he must undoe all, only in his spirit in obedience*

b As well he might.

c John 8. 44. ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρωποκτόνος.

p. 9

ence to *Christ*, which rising he imediately endeavoured, going into the street in his shirt, but being stopt, the *power* told him that he must be carried into the house with *four women*, or else he should perpetually stand there like a pillar of Salt, so he was born in by *four women* who carried him into his bed, then he hold them *he had been doing the Divels work before but to day he must the work of Christ*: and pointing at a woman whom he had pointed at before said, *the Divel told me yesterday you were a wicked woman, but now Christs tells me you are Gods servant*, the woman being departed, he fell to acting in his shirt upon the bed, as formerly on the floor, playing topsie turvy from one bed to another, and the *power* bid him not fear, for he would give him strength; and after this, *that the Divel had the other day commanded him to bear the cross, but now Christ to lay it down for Christ takes no pleasure in crosses, nor would have him worship them as yesterda; the Divel made thee yesterday to lie on the ground, but now I have provided a bed*; giving in this to him, *my yoke is easie*, promising also to give him, *bread of life to eat, and water of life to drink, and that out of his belly shall flow waters of* (d) *life*; whereupon his teeth were caused to move, and he thought he felt in his belly a flowing of waters; he was also perswaded that yesterday the *divels* angels had waited on him but now *Christs*; whereupon he saw two butterflies (*e*) in the window, to which his hand was carried, & having taken one, he was moved

p. 10.
d The Divil is wont to promise more then he can do.
e Goodly Angels Swallows and Butterflies.

moved to put it into his mouth, and did ſwallow it; then he took the other and was moved to put it into his throat, the *power* telling, *it ſhould utter this*, ſaying, *nothing is impoſſible to them that believe.* After this, he was cauſed to make circles on the bed; whereupon he began to think, it was not of God, and ſo began to reſiſt, and thereupon fell into great fear, crying, * *Lord what wilt thou have me to doe?* the *power* told him, *that it was too late to cry unto God for ſentence was already pronounced againſt him*; whereupon he was convict the Divell had deluded him.

* High time to cry out.

After a ſhort ſpace, the *power* again told him, *that it was a white Divell had deceived him the latter time, but now Chriſt was come indeed and would caſt him out*, (*f*) whereupon he took that Devil to be caſt out, after which as he lay in his bed, all his members fell a working as if the pangs of death had been on him, the *power* telling him, *it was the pangs of the new birth, and that Chriſt was new born in him.* Lying in that condition a whole day, the *power* perſwaded him, *that he ſhould work wonders, and caſt out Divels in his name*; ſoon after two Quakers came to him, to whom he told he had two Divels caſt out of him, *but now Chriſt was in him of a truth* (*g*) then *the power, I was crowned with a crown of Thorns, but I will crown thee with a crown of Glory*, and bad him as a figure there ſ to ſet his *fiſt upon his head*, (*h*) and it ſhould appear to the ſtanders by as a glorious Crown, then ſaid

f As much as before.

g How uncertain when miſled with voice light within.

h A glorious Crown.

said he to them, *what do you see?* being Quakers they turned their eyes another way, *the power* telling him * *that they saw the crown on his head, but were so taken with admiration that they could not expresse what they saw*, and bid him tell one of the Quakers present, that he had a Divel in him, and that *Gilpin*, should have power to cast him out; whereupon he said, O! thou hast a Divel in thee *the power* told him, that Quakers should Quake and tremble, *which immedia tely he did*; the *power* bid him speak to him, *to fall flat on the ground* which he did, and after a space rose, and he asked him *whether the divell was gone out of him?* to which he gave no answer but the *power* told him, *the devil was ejected*, the same also told him, who (of those that came to see him) had Devils, who not, and that his wife and mother had divels in them, but he had *power* given him to cast them out. p. 14.

* The divel never wants an excuse.

Gilpin.

After that he began to question whether this were Christ or no, whereupon the Divel discovered himself telling him, *that all this while he had been serving him and blaspheming God, and now it was to late to repent*; whereupon he was brought into despair for a time, at last he began to desist from hearkning to *the voice within him*, and apply himself to God in Christ, whereupon he was presently in a great agony, and sweat, and so continued all night, somewhat more chearful in the morning, yet not finally resolved to desert that way, he was again assaulted by the *power* telling him, that now the Divel was

The divel will not always be an Angel of light.

finally cast out of him, and that the room within him must not be left empty, but that Christ must come and have the whole and sole possession or else Satan would return & reenter with seaven other Divels worse then himself, telling him that he was Christ, solliciting him to entertain him, he resisted for a time, but to perswade him he represented to his memory most of the remarkable passages of his life, told him how long he should live, and when die, and that he would strengthen * his body, and caused him to rub his body with his hands at which instant he conceived he received strength, and his members to be more in substance then before, with divers other passages, promising him prosperity in the world, and speaking *behold a man that hath told thee all things that ever thou didst, is not this the Christ?* whereupon he was perswaded to embrace this *power* thinking it was *Christ*, whereupon he was sensible of a working throughout his whole body, which soon ceased, and then his thought his condition good and Christ to be really in him. Afterward this *power* told him, that he had highly offended God in all his former passages in giving way to Satan and that he was guilty of all sins, except that against the Holy Ghost, but that he did it ignorantly, and therefore he had pity on him, he was further perswaded by *the power* that he should lie seemingly dead, which he did, not daring to stir, till the *power* moved him; lying thus a while, the *power* began to move one of his legs, and then

* Of the Devils renewing strength see Tolderry case c. 5.

then the other, after that his hands, and then his head; at laſt his whole body, cauſing him to ſit on his bed, telling him, thus ſhould his body be quickned and raiſed at laſt day; then the *power* told him, *that he muſt put off his ſhirt and cap and napkin about his neck*, ſaying, *that whatever was about him was polluted, and that he hated the garments ſpotted with the fleſh*; whereupon he pulled them off, and threw them on the ground, ſaying, *that he hated the garments, ſpotted with the fleſh*; the *power* alſo told him, *that all his bonds were broken, and his cords looſned, and that Chriſt had ſet him free.* Whereupon calling for a clean ſhirt and other linnen, he roſe concluding himſelf in a good condition, but being up, finding himſelf no better, his body rather weakned, he began to ſee he had been deluded; whereupon he was ſtruck with fear, and walking into the Garden he thought one while the Divell would pull him into the Earth, another while into the Air, ſo that he was afraid to continue abroad, and came into the houſe and ſuſpected every thing he heard to be the Divel waiting to fetch him away; In this perplexity he began to conſider how he had offended in rejecting *reading, hearing prayer*; and therefore it was juſt with God to leave him to deluſions. (*k*)

p. 13.

(*k*) This the fruit of hearkning to a voice within.

This Relation is not teſtified only under his own hand, but by ſeverall of known fidelity, living in and neer *Kendall*.

p. 14.

Chriſtopher Atkinſon of *Kendall* in a *Pamphlet* wherein

p. 15.

wherein he pretends to answer *Gilpin*, denies not the matter of fact, but charges him with drunkenness, and returning to his former filthinesse, which is a notorious falshood; 'tis true, there was information given in against him for drunkenness by a *Quaker* to a *Justice*, *one of their own Faction*, who sent his warrant for him; but *Gilpin* ignorant of it, was absent, being called to serve in the Garrison of *Carliste*, but did not flie as that *Pamphlet* reports. Some of his friends examined the matter further, and told his accusers it was a forgery; to which some of them answered it was not; for he was drunk *with* (*l*) *lies*, and this was all, that any of his Adversaries would undertake to justifie.

(*l*) Rare proofs

To clear *Gilpin*, there were two testimonies signed by men of unquestioned integrity, acquainted with him

p. 16,17. 1. Whereas severall *Quakers* have aspersed *John Gilpin*, as guilty of drunkenness and other licentious practises, These are to certifie that we have taken speciall notice of his Conversation, during the time of his abode with us, and have found it to be not only Civill, but suitable to the Gospell.

2. Whereas *John Gilpin* is traduced to be scandalous and tainted with drunkenness and other lusts, These are to certifie the contrary, and that he is to our knowledge, one that walks soberly, humbly, piously, and without reproofe not in the least guilty of those wickednesses charged on him; nor did we ever hear otherwise by him

him, but that he was vertuously inclined, and of a very tender Conscience.

CHAP. III.

Of John Tolderry.

HE hearing at a private house two *Quakers*, and observing their discourse, tending to the destruction of (*a*) sin, was somewhat affected with them, and was perswaded to make further enquiry after the *Sect*; whereupon, after some observation, he concluded (*b*) *these people were of God*, sent forth, as *witnesses* from him *against all others*; but in regard of much strangeness in their way *and bold confidence they had in judging* he was not satisfied to comply with them.

Foor out of snare, p. 3.

a In words

b Upon poor grounds.

A short time following, being at a private meeting, there came in a stranger, who with an exceeding bold courage, cried aloud, *Praises, praises be to the Lord for ever, who hath hid things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them to babes*; and beginning at *Genesis*, he passed through the whole Scriptures, and turned all things into Allegories, and so declaring what meant by the first, second *Adam*, by the Fall, Redemption, &c. expressing with confidence, *that searching of the Scripture was not the way to*

p. 4.

find out the knowledge of (a) Christ, but the turning the mind to WITHIN. So after about an hours discourse with confidence, mighty powerfully declared with all seriousness imaginable, he departed, *Tolderry* with others being strongly affected; whereupon he was acted, *zealously* (b) to follow them, but he remained a time before he complyed or made himself known to any of them.

In the mean while, meeting with one of them that gave him to understand, *that they were sent by Christ to preach the Gospell, by the same Christ the Apostles were, and that the person the Son of God which died at* Jerusalem *was not the Redeemer*, (c) *but the redeemer was in every particular man, that light by which he was given to see sin, and enabled by it, if obeyed, to be redeemed from sin*, and declaring of them much to admiration; he gave him notice the next day of their meeting, and the place with earnest invitation.

When he came home, he went to prayers, & being mightily carried forth in that duty, very often before the times of their meeting, he looked on it as a sign *d* of Gods pleasure he should close with them; so at the meeting, three of the chiefest were Speakers, whose matter and manner was more taking to him then the former; but especially the powerful operation of the (*e*) prayer: whereupon he was moved to make a confession of himself with the owning of them in the presence of all the people, upon which he became subject to the teachings of a *spirit f* in himself; the which

a John 5. 39. Ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς, ἐκεῖναί εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ. Rom. 10. 2 ζῆλον θεοῦ ἔχουσιν ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν.

c John 8. 54.

p. 8.

d It is no sufficient sign, neither our prayers nor Gods providence further then grounded on the word.

e The heart may be much affected when little bettered, nay not at all.

f Evill enough.

which being believed (*g*) to be *the Redeemer*, he was fully perſwaded, that denying any thing in the leaſt, it required he ſhould not be redeemed. (*h*)

Hereupon he became ſubject to divers ceremonies, as not to *Maſter* any, not to put off the *Hat* to any, not to ſpeak the word *you* but *thou*, not to uſe any *Greetings*, that bowing to a man was worſhipping of him, (*k*) not to drink to any, to pull off his Points at knees, Bandſtrings, Hatband, unneceſſary Buttons, ſome of which he brake to pieces and threw away, burned divers *Divinity* books, judgeing they were the teachings of the *Devil*, *Gen.* 23.7. ſome made away, others threw away broken in pieces, having in charge the redeeming part of an eſtate for his Mother, which in a ſhort time was in a fair poſſibility to be effected, was perſwaded under pretence of *ſelfe denial*, to deliſt, by which his mother and many little ones ſuffered much; but ſo predominant was the *power* that he refuſed the *leaſt* acknowledgement much more the performance of *duty to any*. (*l*)

Coming to perſwade his Maſter to his opinion, he reached a ſtool, took him by the Arme or Cloak, and bid him ſet down *William Webb*, not bowing, not pulling off the Hat, nor calling him *Maſter* and afterward *denied all relations*, then he ſaid to him, *how does thy body do*? who replyed *John what's the matter? where is the ſervants obedience?* where the Maſters honour? his anſwer was, *my Maſter is the faithful ſpirit in me.*

A while

g But on what grounds?
h A dreadfull bondage. *p.* 15.
i Ignorance the mother of ſuch conſcience
k Very true but is there no worſhip but divine.
ויקם אברהם וישתחו לבנות ת
N. B.
l The Divel will let neither God nor man have his due. *Sauls errand*] *p.* 17. *p.* 14.

A while after when his master and company with him were at dinner, he was moved by the *power* to dine with them, so he went into the room, took a stool and sat down at the *head* of the (*n*) table, then some questions being asked him of the duty of the servant, replyed, that himself was the servant of God, he not; therefore had more right to the creatures then he. (*o*)

In the shop he durst not ask Customers *what they wanted nor make the price but in own word*, if tempted by them to more, he was provoked to look *sternly* with wrath and envy, that they spake more then was needful, and divers commodities he dealt in having honourable names he was commanded by the *power* to give them *new names*; he was further perswaded not to eat any thing he loved, and at last was wrought on to eat nothing but *Crums*, picking of bones when done with by others, with such food as was destructive to health, he was also kept from eating to the satisfying of nature, so that he became extream poor and so changed as if not the same man: some weeks eating little more then nature (*p*) would have required to eat in one day; going a long *Cheap side* he saw *Cabbage-stocks* with broken leaves of *Colworts* thrown away by the *market Women*, at which sight he was enjoyned by the *power* to gather them and carry them home to dresse, and the next food to eat them.

Going to read the Scriptures (*q*) he found such a strange alteration in many things contrary

n Very lowly done.

o Pride with a witness.

p In all this little of Religion; a great cry, and little wool.

q A man is not stark naught at first.

trary to what he formerly believed that he was much affected with it, and he was perſwaded to read the whole, and in a ſhort time he did believe *that there was not any thing expreſſed there but he had the perfect knowledge of* (r) and that *Chriſt* that died at *Jeruſalem* was a figure of him, and that *himſelf* was *the true Chriſt*, (s) and it was revealed to him *that the diſſolution of all things would be at the end of 63 years*, in which time by *his and the reſt of their teachers Miniſtry, the Jewes were to be called with the Gentiles who had loſt the Goſpel immediately after the Apoſtles times, from which time till now both have lain in blindneſſe ſerving the Devil.* (t)

He alſo believed he ſhould live to the *End* and then Chriſt was to meet him in the *mount of God* in a multitude of bright Clouds, where he was immediately to be transformed into a celeſtial body where Chriſt and he (v) ſhould ſit judges of all; he was alſo perſwaded, *there was a greater revelation to be made manifeſt in him then in Chriſt, or the Apoſtles* (w), whereupon he was enjoyned to ſpend all the time he could *in waiting for Revelations*, which he did. Whereupon the firſt time he ſuppoſed he heard excellent voices, which made ſweet melody; which he believed were ſpirits ſent from God to make known the joy in Heaven becauſe of him, ‖ at which being raviſhed (y) he was reſolved to be plyable to that *power* which moved him to wait.

A ſhort time after there appeared two ſpirits in

r Puffed up with ſelf-conceit.
s Man whither? if God leave.
t Matth. 28. 20. μεθ' ὑμῶν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. p. 22.
* *Tolderry.*
v *Ego et rex meus.*
w Object of piety! volume of pride.
‖ much like deluſion in *Gilpins* caſe, c. 2.
y Raptures not alwaies good. p. 23.

in the likeneſs of a *mans ſhade*, which he thought to be his miniſtring Angels, (z) from whom did proceed *then* excellent things concerning God, Chriſt, Angels, and Heaven. Following this there came many *ſuch like*; at which ſight there was a *voice* ſpake *in him* greeting (a) theſe apparitions; by them it was anſwered, *that* within 25 daies perfection ſhould be in him; then he ſhould ſuffer the likeneſs of that *death* and *reſurrection* which was real by him that died at *Jeruſalem*; after which he ſhould be ſent to preach the Goſpel, and *Michael* ſhould live in *him*, by whom he ſhould be carried to and fro the *world*, and unabled to preach, for this 25 *daies* the *power* willed him to goe private, and all the 25 *nights* he durſt not deny the *movings* as he reſpected *Salvation*; yea, he did not reſt one night with another above one houre in a night: moſt of this time he had the company of theſe *apparitions*, according as he was moved to deſire them, for at deſire they would come and goe; and when they came they brought with them excellent Muſick, which was alway over his head and followed as he moved; the *apparitions* making merry amongſt them (b) ſelves, dancing, leaping, and flying about the Room.

The 2*d* or 3*d*. night he was by the *power* commanded to ſtay up all night, about midnight five of thoſe *apparitions* came, one of which as they were flying about the room came & *overſhadowed* his face & told him in his eare *that three of the*

z The like courſe taken with *Gilpin*. c. 2.

a *Noſcitur ex ſociis qui non cognoſcitur ex ſe.* Hereby is the voice diſcerned.

b Robin Good fellows. p. 24.

c Though aloud ly.

the ſeaven plagues had been powred forth on him, and becauſe of his obedience to the ſpirit, two were not, and the other two were to come and that after his reſurrection from the dead he ſhould make choice of 12 of the chief ſpeakers among the Quakers to be his Apoſtles, ſo parting from him they went to dancing, about an hour after ſtanding by the fire, he heard a noiſe, upon which a voice ſpake *in him Babylon is fallen, Babylon is fallen:* p. 25. which he took the meaning of, *that all in him which formerly reigned, was thrown down by the coming of Chriſt*; being weary he went to ſit down, but was commanded to ſtand for God was then preſent: about an hower after he was again overſhadowed (*d*) and by a *voice* required *to pull of his ſhoes for the place was holy*, & that God appeared to him as to *Moſes*, and the appearance to *Moſes a figure of this*; whereon, he pulled of his ſhoos & was taken with great fear much trembling, pulled off his hat, and being very cold there came a great warmth over the room and then ſeiſed on his feet and with a tingling raiſed it ſelf over his legs, at laſt over all his body, at which time he *trembled exceedingly* but durſt not ſtir, the tunes of the ſpirits were changed into a noiſe of Bees & the apparitions danced, a *voice* ſaid he * was *John* the beloved of himſelf as *John* of *Chriſt*, and *John* a figure of him, he after ſome time ſpake, *you are the Angels of God* owning what revealed, but in ſpeaking he ſtammerd out of fear, then flew one of the apparitions by him ſaying *he had blaſphemed*

d In darkneſs all the while

**Tolderry.*

e Very true.

med, (*e*) upon which all vaniſhed, as likewiſe the warmth as it came then was he ſtruck with fear and lay on the floure with his face downward, wallowing and tumbling a ſhort time, he was moved to lye ſtill, and immediatly came the warmth as before, then was he mov'd to riſe; upon which came all thoſe apparitions, again and one of them told him now all was wel, by the *power* in him he was raiſed on his feet, his hands, feet and body mov'd without any conſent of his, then was he *commanded* by *a voice* in him to dance with the apparitions which he did the remainder of the night, and by the *power* was toſſed to and fro and moved up and down as a ſpirit.

p. 27

Having reſraind food about day and half, he was moved to go and eat, finding a coſt of bief he was at a loſſe, *one ſpirit* ſaying eat, *the other no*, I am the Lord ſaid the former *nay but eat*, the caſe examined, Judgement was determined ou the other ſpirit, ſo he did eat.

p. 28.

f Very true.

Two or three hours after in the Hall, he fancied * he ſaw Heaven open, whence a great blaſt of lightning, at which he was ſtruck down, and immediately an extrem turning in him like as in a hot furnace for little more then half a quarter of an hour, about three hours after, he was moved to go to a meeting of Quakers, *much againſt his will*, but being in fear durſt not deny, and there he was moved to ſhake, which being obſerved, the command was *Go away*; upon which the *power* grew ſo to

ſhake

ſhake, teare and rent him, that he could not have contained, but enabled, it did work like *a ſtrong purge* working an extreme *foam*. When ever did the *H. G.* this work; but how like to the Divell that did tear the child and cauſe him to foam, in the Goſpell?

The next, he was commanded to ſtay up and wait for *revelations*, whereupon being very drowzie for want of reſt, he intreated the *apparitions* he might reſt that night; ſo he had liberty: but going up ſtairs, *a voice* in him, willed him to go down, ſo was enjoyned to ſtay up; and having waited a ſhort time, he could not refrain from reſt; then was he perſwaded to go againſt the *Spirit*, but in going, it commanded him to go into the ſhop; having ſtaid there about halfe an hour, he moved to go up; but going, a *voice* ſpake behind, to return; then was he commanded by that *in him*, to lie down and humble himſelf, for he had blaſphemed: then he heard another voice, *Nicodemus the betrayer of Chriſt in the night is in thee*; at which he was extremely troubled; ſo lying about an hour upon the ground, he was moved to riſe; but riſing, commanded to lie down again; anon riſing, commanded again to lie ſtill, and ſo diverſe times, in the end he was raiſed on his feet.

In the morning he was commanded to light a fire with dead coles, and being confident of doing it, yea had he been maſter of the whole world, he ſhould have ventured all with a value

of

(h) Height of confidence on no ground

of no worth on the performance of (h) it: having laid all in their order, he was moved to blow with his mouth; but not effecting the thing, much troubled: then went he into the Cellar, and there the *apparitions* came, to whom he complained of failing in his enterprise, it was answered, *he was not yet perfect, but yet should be serviceable in healing lame, sick, blind souls, as Christ the body, and that all the miracles wrought by him did signifie what was to be offered in the souls of them that should be his doctrine.*

p. 31. For about a week after, he staid up most part of the nights, and strange things were effected by him on the *apparitions* every night. Once striving against sleep he was by the *power in him* cast up against the wall and there was infused into him such a refreshment, that all drowzinesse was destroyed. In the morning he was moved to go to the *Quakers meeting*, and staying for them in the Garden, a Flie flew in his Face, he was perswaded it was a Messenger from God; from that time he was guided by Flies (i) in many things.

בעלזבוב p. 32. When the company came he was commanded to put off his band, and to make known to them the order God required in his creation, which was to gather up the small sticks, and dry leaves and the small stones and pieces of brick scattered in the garden, and lay them by themselves, by diverse friends he was perswaded to give over, but then by the first fly he saw, he was commanded to it again. Going

Going thence he gathered ſtones in the way and ſaw two white round ſtones, which he thought came from Heaven, that in him informed him, one ſignifyed *Eſau*, the other *Jacob*, therefore he threw the greateſt away and kept the leſſe, as alſo (*k*) ſignifying that in the *Revelation*, and was ſent him as a token from Chriſt. p. 33.

(*k*) Any thing what pleaſed the painter.

A ſhort time after about midnight between ſleep and wake he ſaw a Viſion of Spirits at which he was ſtrongely mov'd to riſe, but being very drowſie fell a ſleep, and dream't awaking taken with a fancy, the bed was ſinking under him; upon which he was commanded to riſe and haſt into the Kitchin, there he was guided to turn round, and turning ſaw a light on the wall, at which he ſtood and looked, and ſo it ceaſed, being affraid he went to ſit, but was mov'd to ſtand: looking upon the linnen ſoaking in water for waſhing, he was commanded to lay them in better order, for God was the God of order, remembring Chriſt denied not the leaſt ſervice, he was the ſpeedier ſubjected, upon which readineſſe he was ſet free. p. 34.

Then mov'd to ſit and look on the blaze of the candle to be directed to ſervice by the blaze, or the ſparkles proceeding thence but not able to apprehend the meaning thereof, he was tormented and ſtampt and flew up and down like mad (*l*) he then came to the fire and was moved to look thereon in expectation to be directed by the flame or ſparks, but tired in looking he p. 35

(*l*) Little better.

he cast his eyes upward, and seeing something swim upon a Kettle on the fire; and looking thereon he had a command from the spirit in him, *on account of salvation*; to put his hand in the water, telling him the heat should not seize on him, but through fear standing a little he saw something falling to the ground, which was a thing like a great *Fly*, he was then commanded to look as fierce as he could on it, and enjoyned to hold his leg to the fire, and to observe the direction of the fly to the burning of it, so the fly moved to the earth, then he went close to the fire, and there held his leg with both hands to the fire as the fly stood, so the fly moved sometime neerer, then farther, sometime turning the one side, sometime the other, sometime round then to the same place again, so he his leg accordingly; about the third part of an hour the heat burning in his leg, then *the power* perswaded him he would heale his leg, so he durst not make it known though burnt from the knee to the foot: being about his imployment, he was moved to give over, but not presently obeying there came diverse flies and rested on what he was about, so leaving he was moved to wrastle and war with himself three times, which he did like mad, (*m*) then he was given to understand this was a preparation against his sufferings and had respect to *Christs Agony*, then he was directed to look about and spyed a needle in his sleeve which he was moved to take in his hands and thrust both ends through his thumbs, and after-

m Easily believed.

p. 37.

afterward to the bone, then he was commanded to ſtand on a box by the wall, and to turn his back to the wall and ſpread his hands one on the other with the needle in his thumbs, and ſo lift his Arms over his head and then ſtrain his Arms and Body as high he could with the backs of his hands to the wall, ſo to liken a death on the Croſſe, and he gave way to a drowſineſſe as though a dying and fell on the ground as dead, he was moved to ſpread ſhavings over him, as ſheets; then to tye a handkerchief on his head, then he lay on his back three quarters of an hour in imitation of three dayes, then he was raiſed on his feet, and commanded to make this known to the Quakers, & to make choice of ſome of them to be his Apoſtles, ſo he ran forth in expectation to *fly* by the power of *Michael*, which he believed now in him, but not fleeing he was much troubled; upon which he was commanded to put off his ſhoos, which he did, and ſo made way with all ſpeed to the houſe and gave them to underſtand that Chriſt meaning himſelf was riſen, ſhewing the holes in his thumbs upon which he was looked upon with a ſtrange look and charged to be ſilent, there being many there and judging him with one conſent, he was ſilenced. (*n*)

Practical blaſphemy.

n High time

That theſe relations may not ſeem fabulous he concludes page 45. [*in the preſence of the Eternal God, that he hath endeavoured to make known the truth and that to his knowledge he lies not in any thing, and much of this may be*

justified by many] *and after the Epistle* to the Reader there is this certificate [*We whose names are subscribed being certified of the contents and circumstances of the discourse ensuing, and some of us having perused a part, and others the whole of it are fully satisfied of the truth of things reported in it.*

Thomas Brooks, Thomas Jacomb,
George Cokeyn, William Alderry,
John Goodwyn, John Tombes,
William Jenkyn, Mathew Poole,

CHAP. IV.

Of James Naylor.

Sau's errand p. 29. 30.

WHo gives this account of himself, that he was born at *Ardislaw* two miles from *Wakefield* in *Yorkshire*, where he lived untill he was married, then went into *Wakefield* parish, a Husband-man, a Souldier betwixt eight and nine years, and of turning Quaker gives this account, that he was at the Plow meditating on the things of God, and suddenly he heard a voice saying *get thee out from thy Kindred and Fathers House* and had a promise given in with it that God would be with him; whereat he did exceedingly rejoyce, and when he came home he gave up his estate, cast out his mony, but not being

being obedient in going forth, the wrath of God was on him ſo that he was made a wonder to all, and none thought he would have liv'd, but after he was made willing he began to make ſome preparations, as apparel, and other neceſſaries, not knowing whether he ſhould go, but ſhortly after going a gateward with a friend from his own houſe, having on an old Suit without any money, having neither taken leave of Wife and Children, nor thinking then of any journey, he was commanded to go into the *Weſt* not knowing whether he ſhould goe, nor what he was to do there, but when he had been there a little while, it was given him what he was to declare and ever ſince he hath remained, not knowing to day what he was to do to morrow.

We ſhall not queſtion the matter of fact, but the queſtion is from whom this; from God or the Divel, neither ſhall I ſpend words to reſolve the doubt, the following ſtory peruſed and conſidered, is ſufficient to determine.

On the 24th. of *October* 1656. he entred into *Briſtoll* on Horſe-back, with *Timothy Wedlock* of *Devon*, two *Women* leading his horſe, with the Reyns in their hands, (a) *Martha Symonds* and *Hanna Stanger* Wives to two in *London*, theſe came before him ſinging, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Iſrael*; thus he rode to the *high Croſſe* and to the *White-horſe* in *Broad ſtreet*.

The Quakers Jeſus.

p. 3. Ill lead that gives the reines to women

The Magiſtrates informed hereof, ſent that night for him and his Diſciples ſeaven in number, but ſuch was their ſinging *Hoſanna*, and

Holy, holy, &c. with the concourſe of people that their examination that night was not much, ſo they were committed to *Newgate* till next day. *Saturday* the 25. he was ſent for again and examined, was very ready in his anſwers to *Circumſtances*; but wherein he thought the Queſtion might diſcover him, he would either be ſilent or anſwer ſubtily; alſo denying ſome things put to him out of his own Book;

Being asked, *What was his buſineſſe to* Briſtoll, anſwered, *He came as he was guided by his* (p) *Father: Whether he was a Prophet,* Anſwered, *that he is the Prophet of the moſt High God.* Que. *Are you the onely begotten Son of God?* Anſw. *He was the ſon of God, and the ſon of God is but one.* Qu. *Whether he be the everlaſting ſon of Righteouſneſſe?* Anſw. *That he is the ſon of God, and everlaſting righteouſneſſe is wrought in him; and ſaid, If they had known the Father, they would him alſo.* Qu. *Whether he were the King of Iſraell?* Anſw. *Thou haſt ſaid it, and he hath no Kingdom in the world, but reigneth in the Father.* Q. *Are you the Lamb of God in whom the hope of Iſrael ſtands?* Anſw. *That if he were not his lamb, he ſhould not be thus ſought for to be devoured, and that the hope of Iſrael ſtands in the righteouſneſs of the Father in whomſoever it is.* Q. *Why came he in ſuch manner into the City?* Anſ. *It was for the praiſes of his Father, and he might not refuſe any thing moved of the Lord, and that their Father commanded them to doe* * *it.* Q. *Whether as he rode from* Gloſſenbury

(p) 4. † The Devil.

* They will not worſhip men with putting of the hat but take worſhip from men as is due only to God.

bury *and* Wells *ſome did not ſpread their cloathes on the ground before him, and ſing Holy, holy?* Anſ. *He believed they did.* Qu. *Whether he had a wife?* Anſ. *There is a woman the world called his* (c) *wife.*

October 27. *Dorcas Erbury* one of his Diſciples was examined before the Magiſtrates of *Briſtoll.* Queſt. *Why did you ſing holy, holy,* &c. *before* James Naylor *when he rode in?* Anſw. *She did not, but they that did were called to it by the* (d) *Lord.* Q. *Is* James Naylor *the holy one of Iſrael?* Anſw. *He is ſo, and ſhe would ſeal it with her* * *bloud.* Qu. *And is he the onely begotten Son of God?* Anſw. *He is the onely begotten Son of* (e) *God.* Qu. *Why did you ſo honour him as to pull off his ſtockins and put your cloaths under his feet?* Anſ. *Becauſe he is the Lord of Iſrael and worthy of it.* Q. *Do you know no other Jeſus the only begotten ſon of God but him?* Anſw. *I know no other Saviour but* (f) *him.* Q. *Do you believe in* James Naylor? Anſ. *I do believe in* (g) *him.* Q. *What Name do you give him?* A. *The ſon of God.* Q. *What do you call him uſually?* A. *I am commanded to call him Lord and Maſter and to ſerve* (h) *him.* Q. Hath Naylor *raiſed from the dead?* A. *I was dead two dayes, he laid his hands on my head in* Exeter *Gaol, and ſaid;* Dorcas, *ariſe.* Q. *Jeſus ſits at Gods right hand, and ſhall judge the world,* Doth Naylor *thus?* A. Naylor *ſhall ſit at the right hand of the father and judge the world.*

The *Magiſtrates* ſent to a *Parliament man* a

e Very probable he did not own her his wife. p. 10.

d The God of this world that rules in the children of diſobedience.

* Goodly confeſſor.

e She ſpeakes plain.

f Poor Woman!

g Whether may not a poor ſoul be miſled?

h Where is that command written the very *light within conſcience* will ſhew a ſinful man not God. p. 11.

copy of these Examinations, and upon Report to the *House*, a Committee was chosen to take notice of it, and a Messenger sent for *Naylor*.

p. 6. The Magistrates sent *Naylor* for *London* 10. *November* with four Disciples of his, *Stranger* and his Wife, *Martha Symonds*, and *Dorcas Erbury*. Upon the 15th. the Committee met in the *painted Chamber* and had *Naylor* in Examination. Q. *Did you reprove the Woman for holding the horse bridle?* A. *No but I spake to them about it, and they said they were moved of the Lord to it,* Q. *It is laid to your charge, you did assume to your self the faiest of ten thousand.* A. *If any spake it to that of the Father in me, I dare not deny for its beautifull in whomsoever begotten.* Q. *Do you own that of being that only begotten son of God?* A. *I am the son of God.* Q. *Do you own being the King of Israel?* A. *I have no Kingdome in this World, but a Kingdome I have.* Q. *Do you own the title King of Israel Prince of peace.* A. *It is but one and that of God born in me is the King of Israel, Jesus Christ is the King of Israel is manifested in me, and I own.* Q. *Have any called you the Prophet of the most high God?* A. *I am a Prophet of the most high God.* Q. *Is then that worship due to you which was to Christ?* A. *If they did it to the visible they were to blame, but if to the invisible, that worship is due to me according to my measure as was due to Christ.* Q. *then you say that worship was due, and to that which you call the invisible in you, to you as was given*

given to Christ at Jerusalem. A. *Yea.* Q. *How many weeks have you fasted without bread.* A. *Two or three.* Q. *Did you live without any food all that time?* B. *Yea.*

(i) They will not give civil worship but take divine, is not this diveliſh pride?

Upon the fourth of *December* report was made to the *house*, & on the sixth he was brought to the *Commons-bar* where having his Examination taken before the *Committee* read unto him, and asked whether things were thus, he answered *yea*, and denied not any part thereof. Whereupon the house agreed on the matter of fact, and adjudged it *horrid blasphemy* and he *a grand impostor, and deceiver* of the people, and ordered him *close prisoner.* p. 13.

After 8 or 9 dayes debate on the 16 of *December*, it being carried that the question for his death should not be put, the house Voted his punishment, *that upon the* 18th. of *December he stand in the pillory two hours in the new palace yard with a paper of his crime on his breast, and then presently to be whipt by the Hangman to the old Exchange, on the* 20 *to be put in the pillory for two hours before the exchange, and then bored through the tongue with a hot Iron and stigmatized with the letter* B *in his forehead, afterwards by the Sheriff of* Lond. *to be conveyed to* Bristol *& there ride through the City on a horse with his face to the tail, and then publickly whipt through the Town, and by the Sheriffs of* Bristoll *to be conveyed to Bridewell in* London, *there to be kept close prisoner from company, pen, inck, and paper, kept to hard labour and not to be released till further order.* *Naylors* punishment.

December 17th. he was brought to the bar to receive the ſentence on the 18th, the ſentence in *palace yard* executed upon the indiſpoſition of body, and a petition of ſome for reſpite upon that account, the reſt of his ſentence was deferred for a weeke.

p. 16. On the 23 of *December* there came neer about an hundred men with a petition for the remitting the reſt of his puniſhment, delivered in by Mr. *Joſhua ſprigge* (*k*) and ſubſcribed in the firſt place by *Col. Scrope*, the petition being not like to take, they made their addreſſe to *Oliver Cromwell*, as follows.

k A Worthy man.

p. 17. *Sheweth*] *that your petitioners* (*having out of tenderneſſe to the good cauſe of our ſpiritual and civil Liberties*) *concerned in ſome late proceedings of the houſe of Parliament, and to the good of theſe Nations and Government thereof appeared in a petition to the Parliament, for* ξ*the remitting of the remaining puniſhment of* J. Naylor, *which petition is received into the houſe and reſts there; we humbly conceive it our duty alſo, in conſideration of the joynt intereſt which your Highneſs with the Parliament hath by the inſtrument of Government in the Legiſlative power to make our humble addreſſes to your Highneſſe* (m) *that you will be pleaſed, according to all former declarations, and the experience we have had of your Highneſſes care of this tender intereſt of Liberty of Conſcience, to weigh the conſequence of theſe late proceedings and according to the* 17th. *article of the inſtrument and one of the grounds you declare upon*

m What a do for a wretched blaſphemer?

open in the war with Spain *your Highneſſe will ſtand up for the poor people of God,* (n) *in this day, wherein your* Highneſs *will not do more right to your petitioners, then to your ſelf and theſe Nations.* (o)

December 26th. his Highneſſe ſent a letter to the houſe as followeth.

Having taken notice of a Judgement againſt James Nalyor, *although we deteſt and abhor the giving or occaſioning the leaſt countenance to perſons of ſuch opinions or practiſes, yet being interreſſed in the Government and not knowing how far ſuch a proceeding wholy without us, might extend in the conſequences of it, do deſire the houſe will let us know the grounds whereon they have proceeded.*

This Letter cauſed a great debate, and anſwer was not then agreed upon, but another day appointed, in the mean while the *Parliament* ordered *Naylor* the remainder of his puniſhment, which upon 27th. of *December* was executed on him, and ſo ſent again to priſon.

At this time of his being in the pillory, one *Robert Rich* ſtanding by him, placed a paper over *Naylors* head, wherein was written, *This is the King of the Jewes.*

January 16th. he was ſent by the *Sheriffes of London* to *Briſtoll*, and the *Sheriffs* of *briſtoll* before that, had a warrant under the *Speakers* hand to ſee the ſentence executed as far as they were concerned therein.

January 17th. *Naylor* took horſe at *Lawford gate*

n Upon what account is *Naylor* one of them.

o It had been better at this day had he more appeared againſt ſuch, then for them. *O. C's.* Letter.

p Very tender of incroachment.

gate and rod on the horſe bare ridged with his face to the tail through the City without *Redcliffe gate* and there alighted & was brought to the middle of *Thomas* ſtreet and there ſtript, and then tyed to the horſe to be whipt from thence back again to the middle of *Broad-ſtreet.*

P. 20. This order to the favouring of him, was ſent to the Keeper of *Newgate* by one not named by the Author.

Naylor favoured.

Cauſe Naylor *to ride in at* Lawford's-gate, *from thence along* Wine-ſtreet *to the* Tolſey, *thence down* High-ſtreet *over the Bridge, and ſo out at* Redcliff-gate, *there let him alight and bring him into* Thomas-ſtreet, *and cauſe him to be ſtript, and there made faſt to the Cart-horſe, and in the Market firſt whipped, from thence to the foot of the Bridge there whipt, thence to the end of the bridge there whipt, thence to the middle of* High-ſtreet *there whipt, thence to the* Tolſey *there whipt, thence to the middle of* Broad-ſtreet *there whipt, and then tane into the* Taylors-Hall, *there releaſe him from the Cart-horſe, and let him put on his cloathes, and carry him thence to* New-gate *by* Tower-lane *the back way.*

And whereas of cuſtome the *Bellman* goes before and makes *Proclamation* of the offence of the Offendour, yet here the *Keeper* commands the *Bellman* to the contrary, and ſuffers one *Jones* to hold back the *Beadles* arm when ſtriking, and in all the way the *Bell* rang but ſix times.

And one *Robert Rich* rid bare before him, ſinging,

singing, *Holy, holy,* who *December* 15. sent in to the Speaker this Letter.

If I may have liberty, I do here at the door attend, and am ready out of the Scriptures of truth to shew, that not any thing *James Naylor* hath said or done, is blasphemy or worthy of death or bonds.

Many other Quakers accompanyed *Naylor,* and when he was going to horse, at the Gate used these Expressions:

Behold the Lamb of God, saith one; *This is the Corner-stone which the builders refused,* another; *They shall look upon him whom they have pierced* (and wept,) another; *Let all the Angells in heaven worship him,* another; *Give honour to whom honour belongeth,* another. p. 22.

Yet this very *Naylor, January,* 16. the night he came thither, at the *Lamb* without *Lawfordsgate* was suspected to have a woman in bed with him; for in the Oath taken before the Mayor, sworn by *Thomas Jefferies* and *Ruth Harris, the Maid and Tapster saw a woman at* 10 *a Clock at night on the further side of the bed, and covered, lying with her arms over the Rug*; and the Maid did swear *that about* 5 *of the Clock the next morning the woman was lying in the same place and manner.*

After this, the Sheriffs of *Bristoll* sent him to the Governours of *Bridewell, London,* who before had received order from the *Speaker,* as to that

that of the Sentence wherein they were concerned, were he was kept prisoner till of late he was discharged by them that then bore sway.

CHAP. V.

Of sundry Practises of divers Quakers of late years.

Clark's mirrour. c. 63. p. 262.

1. ABout *October*, 1653. certain *Quakers* came into *North Wales* about *Wrexham* to gain (*a*) Proselytes, at their meetings; after long silence, sometimes one, sometimes more fell into *great and dreadfull shakings* with such swellings in their bodies, sending out such *shreekings* and *howlings* as not only frighted the beholders, but caused Dogs to bark, swine to cry, and the cattel to run about. One *William Spencer* lying with one of them three nights, the last night was much troubled and could not sleep; on a sudden, he heard something buzzing about the Quakers head, which affrighting him, he sought to rise, but the Quaker perswaded him to lie still, and immediately there rose

a For which they compasse Sea and Land having been in *France*, *Holland*, *Rome*, *New England*, *Barbados*, &c. So eager of *New England* that very death it self would not deter them.

rose such a storm as shook the house; then he again attempted to rise, but the Quaker pressed him to lie still, and expect the *power* to come, he then again heard the former humming, so that he strove vehemently to rise, but the *quaker* laid his head on *Spencers* shoulders, and did blow like the hissing of a Goose (*b*) several times toward his mouth, which made him leap out of the bed, crying for a light and guide to conduct him forth, and so left them altogether.

b Very like.

2. *October*, 19. 1654. A Minister went with some friends to a meeting of *Quakers* at the house of one *J. Hunter* in *Benefield side* in *Durham* where he found about twenty sitting silent, after a while the minister of his own accord, rose up to prayer, but his legs so trembled that he had much a do to stand, but after he had prayed a short space, the trembling ceased, whilst he prayed to God as a Creator, there was but little disturbance, when in the name of Christ then (*c*) the Quakers *roared*, in a *strange* and *hideous* manner, *howling*, *squeeking*, *yelling*, *roaring*, and some had a strange kind of humming noise after he had done, he was amazed to see about the one half of them so terribly shaken that it was a wonder they liv'd. In the midst of this confusion one of them asked him, if he was come to torment them? As he was departing out of the house, one said, *all the Plagues of God be upon thee.* (*d*)

p. 263.

c Enemies to Christ for all their talk.

d Very Christian like.

3. *July* 10. 1656. one reasoned with a Quaker,

Quakers Jesus.

p. 505

ker who told him that he did *thank God he had burnt* (e) *the bible* and diſwaded him from reading it any more, or *praying* any more but to hearken to the *light within him.*

(e) R. B. Queries 10. do not ſome of you ſay the bible ought to be burnt?

4. The ſame year diuerſe *quakers* being met together in a Town in *Eſſex* there appeared one amongſt them in ſuch aſhape as cauſed them to break up their meeting with no ſmall terrour to many of them.

Clarks mirrour. p. 271.

5. *A Quaker* the ſame year being put into Priſon at *Cholcheſter* abſtained from all food for diverſe days together, when he was prevailed with to eat, nature was ſpent, and when he would have eaten he could not, and ſo died, his name was *Parnel*, faſted eight or nine dayes: after he was laid in his grave, a Quaker waited by his grave to the end of three days expecting his reſurrection, but not riſing he ran mad and ſo continued many weeks.

Hellbreke looſe. p. 54.

6. *William Paul* a profeſſed *quaker* ſervant to *George Knight* Clothier of the City of *Worceſter* on *Feb.* 1657. at even went out of his Maſters houſe, and ſome dayes after found dead and naked with his Face downward in a puddle of water, his cloaths lying by, the inqueſt found him guilty of ſelf murther, his friends on 22 of *Febr:* had interred in *Claynes* Church-yard two miles from the City, and after he had been buried ſix or ſeven hours one *Suſannah Prinſon* a

Hellbroke looſe. p. 36.

quaker

quaker in that City undertook to raiſe him from the dead, wherupon ſhe took three or four of her way, went to the place, cauſed his body to be taken up, laid on the grounnd, opened his ſhroud, touched him and called him by his name, ſaying *ariſe and walk*, with other expreſſions, many being preſent, but ſhe returned with ſhame.

7. A *Female quaker* about four or five years ſince came into *Whitehall* Chappel ſtark-naked on the Lords day, the Miniſter being in the pulpit, a great Congregation being preſent. p. 32.

8. A *Maid-ſervant* at *Putney* at her Maſters houſe, when he and many friends were at Dinner with him, came into his Parlour amongſt them ſtark-naked, and another day ſtark-naked from her Maſters houſe through *Wandſor* and to *Lambeth*, or neer it, where ſome Water-men, by force, ſtop'd her, and carried her back. It was ſaid, ſhe intended to have entred *London*, over the Bridge, and ſo to have gone through *London* ſtreets unto *Weſtminſter*. p. 33.

9. In Summer, 1659. in *Colcheſter* a Man-quaker went *ſtark naked* through all the *Market*, and on a *Lords day* in the ſame poſture entred into the greateſt Aſſembly in that Town, walking unto the further end of the lower croſs through many people and then returned, p. 33.

and

and from thence to a great company of *quakers* in that Town, where he did for a long time act the part of a Speaker, and when he went naked he had a brother waiting on him, carrying his cloaths after him.

10. The ſame Summer a Man-quaker went naked down *Cheapſide*.

11. This laſt Summer, at *Colcheſter*, many of them on the *Lords day* have opened their ſhops and followed their handy-crafts calling for many weeks together; the like hath been done ſeverall Lords dayes by them in *London* and *Southwark*.

12. At the ſame place this Summer a *woman* brought her needle-work into a *Church*, and fell to work and ſinging, while the Miniſter was officiating, not much unlike, in *London* by a woman in *Lawrence-Church*.

13. At *Aldermanbury*, *London*, a *quaker* after once being fruſtrated in his attempt, did while the *Pſalm* was ſinging, before the Miniſter went up, got into the Pulpt, there ſate on the cuſhion with his foot on the ſtool or ſeat, and with a needle and thread ſowed a pocket, untill pulled down; ſince which, he hath printed the reaſon of his ſo doing, that he could have no reſt in his ſpirit till he had done it. (*f*)

(*f*) This is following the light within.

The

The person was *Samuel Eurles*, and as he himself relates it p. 2, he sate down upon the Cushion with his feet upon the Seat (where the priest when he hath told his Lies doth sit down) sowing a pocket, so that the people lost their Song.

ẅ les *i. e.* stark naught.

14. Since that, in the same place, and time a man Quaker came into the Assemblie stark naked, his hands and Arms all besmeared with Excrements, and there are that have had the face to justifie him, that he might as well come with *such filth* in his hands, as the Minister with *a Bible*.

g You see how they value it.

15. *Nicholas Kate* of *Harwel* in *Berks* about the yeer 1656 came into *Newbery* between 8. and 9. in the morning, on the *Lords day*, and so walked starck naked through a long street, who for many Months before, had not lived as a Husband with his Wife, left his own Family, Land, and Stock of a very considerable value, entred upon by persons whom the Country esteem *Ranters*, his Wife a weak diseased Woman, who brought him a valuable portion, left to the mercies of those persons. h

Ford and Fowlers answ. to *Speed* p. 75.

h This light is not natural.

16. A Physician in *Lincoln* with his consent was made a Quaker for 24. hours by a Quaker, who he privately convicted to be *a man in popish orders* beyond Sea: the agreement was, that at the end of 24. hours, he should cease to be a Quaker, which so fell out, but he affirmed that for that time, he could not choose but preach and pray, at the Quakers rate, but at the end of the time he found himself exceeding weary, and as indis-

Hell broke loose. p. 36 Other like instances follow, that strangely argue with whom they deal.

posed to such work as ever.

i Is this following light within them? or rather putting it out.

17. Some Quakers killed *their Mother*, following *the light within them* which taught them they ought to destroy *the original* of sin, and by the said light, they apprehend *their Mother* to be the *Original*, and so embrued their hands in her blood, this relation is in Mr. *William Keyes* Minister of *Stokesby*, in his answer to 18 Quæries, who was with them in prison.

Hell broke loose. p. 46

18. A Maid in *London*, met by a Quaker who addressed himself to her with suits of Love, was perswaded to drink with him, he took something out of a paper, and put in the drink, and in discourse told her, *She should come after him, and not he after her*, the Maid after this, found pressing inclinations to go to the Quakers meetings, and was brought into strange raptures, and her mind much turned against the *Bible*. k Some of her godly friends kept a day of fasting and prayer for her, with whom she was, though with much reluctancy; while they were seeking God, she was greatly tormented, her body so much swelled, that they were fain to unloose her cloaths to give her ease, but before the dayes work was finished, she was delivered from this sore evil, the Substance of this relation was had from the Maids own mouth.

k Note.

l God can cast out the strong one.

pag. 47.

A woman so low in parts, that she was looked on not much better then a *Natural*, being at a *Quakers* Meeting in *Buckinghamshire* not far from *Ailesbury*, was suddenly so transported, that with much *liberty* and *confidence* she spake in

their

their tone in matters above her, and continued in those raptures for about two dayes, but after fell into a grievous rage, cursing, swearing, and blaspheming, crying, *Fox* a Divel, a Divel, a cheif Quaker present at the meeting, and so continued a day or two, till she dyed.

20. A Gentleman inclined to the Quakers, (though his Wife not) brought *Fox* the Quaker into her Chamber, who laid his hand on her forehead, after which she became a Quaker for a certain time, this was related from the Gentlewomans own Mouth. m

m Whether this cometh not under witchcraft pag. 48.

21. One in *Kent* going to a Quakers meeting, was there so wrought upon, that he fell to dancing, and afterward went home under great alteration of mind, the violent impression of which soon ended his life, having before he dyed, in his violent fits complained grievously of *Fox* his holding him in Chains. n

n Whether such things fall not under the Laws cognizance. Quakers Jes. 5. p. 55.

22. *February* 5. 1659. one *Lewis Harris* a Quaker, having been in the Country, came home to his house at *Bristol*, and meets with *William Hill* a Quaker, and he asks *Harris*, why he fell from his principles, and further discoursing of their way, they came to blows, and *Harris* murders *Hill*, for which *Aug.* 31. he was at *Bristol* executed, this *Harris* had a Letter from some Quakers, which when on the Gallowes he conveyed to a minister nere him, which the minister presently tore, upon which, some Quakers present, what will you persecute to the death.

Perfect Pharisee. P. 49. More of him. f. 34.

23. *Christopher Atkinson* a grand Leader of the Quakers, and a prophetical impostor for a good while together, had very immodest familiarity (to say no more) with a woman of this way, in the sight of Mr. *Walker*, then Minister at *Kendal*.

24. *November* 21. 1653. the Wife of *Edmond Adlington* of *Kendal*, went naked through the streets of the said Town.

25. *George Fox*, meeting with one Mr. *Nicols* in *Carlile*, told him that he was an Hypocrite, he asked him if he knew his heart, he said he did; he asked him again, *Fox* affirmed it again *he did*, he asked if he knew his name, *Fox* answered, *I know by thy Questions thou art an Hypocrite*, [o] shuffling so to evade his question, to whom Mr. *Nichols* answered, dost thou know my heart and not know my name? [p]

lie and all. o Without Question. p He saw the needle but not the barne.

26. A Weaver followed a Company of Quakers from *Coaton* to *Cambridge*, intreating them all the way, what their Religion was, and how he might come to be of their Religion, they gave him no other answer but this, *that he should follow the light within him*, he asked them what it was, and they would not tell him. [q]

R. B. Quær. 31.

q Left him in the dark

27. A Quaker brought one *Lords-day*, an old Doublet into a Church in *London*, and sate on the *Communion Table* mending it, while the Minister was preaching, the Parishioners forbidding him. The Church was Doctor *Gells*. And it being demanded whether this in him was a sin? a Quaker replies in print to him that made the

R. B. Quær. 30.

the Quæry, he ſinned not, wilt thou ſtill continue a Papiſt? R. B. at the end of the *gagg.* p. 7, 9, 36.

28. Certain Quakers ran after *Henry Daril* a Tanner of *Richmond*, almoſt a mile, whilſt he was walking to ſee his ground, and told him with open mouth, *that the Spirit of God ſent them to tell him he was a Seducer of the people, one of the corrupt Clergie*, while it is commonly known, he neither is, nor was, a *Clergy-man nor Preacher*. Concerning this ſtory, a Quaker anſwers, *thou and thy brethren lyes*, Reply. Witneſſe *H. Daryl*, *William Williamſon* and diverſe others in *Richmond*. R. B. Quær. 51.

29. In *September* 1659. there was a diſcovery of diverſe *Witches*, in and neer *Sherburne* in *Dorſetſhire*; there being nere two hundred of them at one meeting, moſt of them *Quakers* and *Anabaptiſts*, three Men, and two Women, formerly Quakers r committed to *Dorſetſhire* Goale, who have confeſſed on examination, and ſince their commitment, to ſundry of quality: A gagg ſee Quakers after the Epiſtle. r Whether at laſt.

1. That when the Divel firſt appeared to them and tempted them to become Witches, he perſwaded them to renounce their Baptiſm, which they actually did, before they made a contract with him.

2. That he did oft visibly appear to them, in sundry forms, and perswaded them to fall down and worship him, which they did.

3. That he instigated them to torment, bewitch, and destroy Mr. *Lyford*, Minister of *Sherburne*, who being tormented with a painful and sharp disease, dyed; and Mr. *Bamfield* his Successor, whom they have forced by their Witchcrafts to desert the Town. *

* You see whom the Devil is so set against

4. The two Women confess to all, that the Divel hath oft had actual copulation with them in sundry shapes.

5. Since their Imprisonment, he hath frequently appeared to them all, and actually possessed them, bruising, tearing, tossing them frequently up and down the Prison, in a strange manner, tormenting them with strange fits of Convulsions, quakings, shakings in all their joynts, and swellings in their whole bodyes, that their Skins are ready to break, which makes them cry and roar with great horrour, as Eye-witnesses of quality attest.

The Posture of Quakers.

30. In *Saules Errand* p. 4. 5. it is confest, that at some of their meetings, many men, women, and little children, have been strangely wrought upon in their bodies, and brought to fall, foam at mouth, roar and swell in their Bellies, and whereas it is answered, *that is a Lye*, it is replied, Let the Reader consult the Book, and beleive his own eyes.

Q. to *Whitehead*. p. 3. f. 6. at end of *Agagg*.

* The thing there is not denyed but palliated.

31. *Thom. Holim* of *Kendal*, went naked as he was born, through the Market place at *Kirby-Stephen*

R. B. p. 21. Q. 72.

Stephon, one Market day *Octob.* 28. saying, *'Tis not I, but God, that goes naked.* See the Witnesses in the 5. *New-castle* Ministers answer to *I. N.* p. 84. Horrid.

32. The Lord Cheif Baron *Wild*, the first day of the Term, and *Novemb.* 11. 1659. was bareheaded, and twenty Quakers about him, with their hats on, half an hour together. Pag. 22. Q. 78.

33. *James Mitener*, a follower of *George Fox*, professed himself to be God and Christ, and gave out Prophecies, *viz.* that the day of Judgement, should be on the 15. of *November*, * and that there should never sit Judge at *Lancaster* again. Pag. 23. Q. 87. Sauls Errand p. 2. 9. * In this not infallible.

34. Was it not a sin in *Christopher Atkinson*, fellow Preacher, and bosome companion to *George Whitehead*, to comit frequent fornication with *Ursula* Servant to *Thomas Symonds*, as both he and she confessed before the Mayor of *Norwich*, and *July* 4. 1655. run away from *Norwich-Goale*, and carrying thence goods not his own, and after he professed Repentance for his lewdnesse with *Ursula*, did he not practise greater Villanie at the *George* Inne in *Thurton*, six miles from *Norwich*. See the relation of these matters, printed for *Franklin*, and attested by the Maior of *Norwich*. R. B. Q. 89. 90. 91. See more of him before. f. 23.

35. A Female Quaker, was taxed, for breaking of the Rule, *Let the Woman keep Silence in the Church, for it is not permitted for them to speak.* replied, it was spoken of Women that have Husbands at home to learn of, but I have none and am a Maid. Quakers Folio, 2. P. 59.

36. Ano-

36. Another, who was a Wife, being challenged for preaching publickly, and that Scripture urged against her, *I ſuffer not a woman to teach and uſurp authority over the man*, readily replied, that was ſpoken of the Woman who was in the tranſgreſſion, but I am not one of them.

P. 1. of the narrative of Q. Fi. Vol. 2. *Papiſta pejor.*

37. One of them lately at *Dover*, when he came to die, upon the Queſtion put to him, how he expected Salvation, anſwered, *that he expected Salvation by his own works and not by Chriſt.* Witneſſe Mr. *Davis* Miniſter at *Dover*, our hearty prayer to God is, that we may neither thus live nor dye.

Q. Folio v. 2. narrative p. 2. 1659.

38. At a late meeting of the Quakers, in *Hurſt-peirpoint* in *Suſſex*, the Speaker called out to the Miniſter paſſing by, *We will have you all down, for now our day is come.*

Reckoned without his hoſt. pag. 3.

39. Another in *Nuthurſt* pariſh, in the ſame County, did ſay to a godly perſon of good quality, in that pariſh, that he *no more cared to kill one of the Prieſts, then he would to kill a Dog.*

*They are much beholding to him for his care.

40. Another Quaker way-laid the Miniſter of *Cowwould* and juſtled him on the high way, and drew out his Sword about half way, but from further was prevented by others coming in.

41. Mr. *Wingfield* Miniſter at *Word*, did teſtifie under his hand, *Aug.* 3. 1659. that *Luke Howard* of *Dover* Quaker, did ſay in his hearing, *July* 25. 1659. upon the Road neer *Dover-caſtle*, that it was revealed to him by the eternal God, that

that the priests shall be destroyed, and by the people who are called Quakers.

42. *E. B.* Quaker. p. 2. in his *Word of Advice to the Soldiers*, saith, *Oh! give the Priests blood to drink for they are worthy.*

43. On the *Lords day* 18. *Sept.* 1659. *W. Naylor* Brother to *James*, came into the *Savoy Church* Mr. *Hooke* preaching, and made such a bellowing, that it seemed to be rather the Divel in him, then his own voice, Mr. *Hooke* was necessitated to hold his peace, many sadly affrighted, that some ran one way, some another. * Testified by Mr. *Hook*, his Wife and others.

44. *Octob.* 6. 1659, at a publick thanksgiving at *Christ Church*, *London*, the Parliament, Lord, Maior, Aldermen, Common Council, Officers of the Army, being hearing Mr. *Caryl*, two Quakers made a very great disturbance. p. 4.

45. *March* 5. 1659. *Mary Todd* of *Southwark*, *Quaker*, at the *Bull and Mouth*, while some were speaking, pulled up her Coats above her middle and walked so up and down a while, using several base expressions, Mr. *Thomas Cresset*, Chirurgion, an Eye and Ear witnesse.

CHAP.

Chap. 6.

Of their Opinions.

BY which you may easily discern, how far they are from being *sound in the faith*, and take along withal, this *aggravation* [*let their words be never so diametrically oppose to the written verity yet they will father it upon the Spirit of truth, and he must be made the immediate inspirer of these falsities, not being ashamed to make him grossly contradict himself, but also to bear witness to a lie.*] for when they want a Shadow of *Scripture*, then they will stamp their errour with the Image and Superscription of the *Holy Ghost* immediately revealing, and *Christ* the *light within them*, must be made to hold out palpable darkness.

Therefore they lay down *as a foundation-truth a blasphemous falsehood*, to build their Structure of untruths upon, *viz.*, [*That their dictates are equal to those of Christ and his Apostles.*] a Herein not unlike the *Papists*, who for the better establishing of their *Churches* authority make.

a R. B. Questions to *Whitehead* at end of the gagg. p. 3. f. 7. do not you esteem your speakings to be of as great authority as any Chapters in the bible, Answ. *yea of greater.*

1. *The*

1. *The Pope an infallible judge.*

2. *Unwritten Traditions equal to the written* Word, therefore *Bellarmine* hath,

Verbum dei scriptum, & non scriptum.

To make this evident concerning the Quakers.

1. Mr. *Camelford* Minister of *Stafly* Chappel in *Lancashire*, having told *Thom. Atkinson* (in answer to his Quæries) that his Quæries were condemned to the fire, *George Fox* replies, *you might as well have condemned the Scriptures to the fire*. And without breach of charity we may affirm the burning of the Scriptures would not have been so offensive to him [a] for indeed to *equal* any writings to *Scripture* is *interpretative* in interpretation to set them *above* them; as he that loves any thing *equal* to God, loves it indeed more than God, the setting up of any writings in equipage with Gods, is a debasing of his word.

Again some of them assert that *they have as full* [b] *a measure of the Spirit, as the penners of the Scriptures had* [*] *the fulnesse of the Spirit* is well known by the emptinesse of their fruits, had they said that they have as full

Truths defence, p. 2. by *Fox* & *Hubberthorn*.

a There are Quakers that have done it as before, and though it be answered, it is a wicked lie, yet see your Book entituled, *Truths defence*, writ by *Fox*, *Hubberthorn*, p. 2. l. 13. and divers other Books, wherein they prefer the Scripture to the fire, and their own Books to mens reading, as more useful for these times. A. p. Q.

ibid. b. There fulnesse is of the evil one.

p. 3. Q. 10. at the end of a Gagg.

[*] *Truths Defence* p. 43.

a mea-

measure of the evil spirit, as *Marcian primogenitus diaboli*, the first born of the Divel, as *Polycarpe* calls him, they had come neer the Truth.

This *corner-stone*, being laid by these Master-builders of *Sathans Babel*, they go on to deny.

1. *The personal body of Christ.*

Truths defence p. 78. 79.

George Fox being asked whether Christ have a body in heaven, and be a particular man or person, incompassed with a body to live for ever, yea, or no, affirms, *That Christ hath but one body, and that is the Church*] That 1, *Christs mystical body, corpus mysticum, is the Church*, and that 2, *This is but one*, is according to truth, answerable to that we beleive, *Sanctam Catholicam Ecclesiam, the Holy Catholick Church*, but 3, *That Christ hath but one body*, is contradictory to the whole History of the four Evangelists, which so often speakes of that body which he took of the Virgin *Mary* of whom Christ κατὰ σάρκα after the flesh came, as *Paul* phrases it; and how he ascended and shall come again, *Luke* acquaints us *Acts* 1, 9, 10, 11. *Shall so come in like manner, as ye have seen him goe into heaven.* But this is not the first time that this Heresie hath been broached nor confuted, many a hundred yeers ago, were these things upon the stage of the World, *dic mihi aliquid novi aut tace*, trouble us not with old rotten stinking errours.

Οὕτως ὃν τρόπον.

Secondly,

Secondly, In their book called, *The perſecution of the Quakers*; Firſt, *the corporeal Body of Chriſt*: And ſecondly, *his coming in the Clouds to to judgment*, are denyed. 1 *pag.* 8. Prieſt *Herrick* did affirm before the Magiſtrate and many others, that the body of Chriſt is not ſpiritual; and when he was by *William Adamſon* challenged for his blaſphemy, he ſaid he would prove it by Scripture, and produced thoſe words Chriſt ſaid, *I am not a ſpirit*; and then he was by him charged with a lie, for there was no ſuch words in that Scripture. 2 *p.* 9. Let their own words try them *who look for a Chriſt yet to come*; as ſome of them ſaid, what will yee *Quakers* do, who ſaith Chriſt is within you, when Chriſt comes in the clouds, here now all people do but honeſtly examine and ſee whether theſe ſpirits confeſs Chriſt, who looks for him yet to come, and whether you dare believe the Apoſtle, *every ſpirit who doth not confeſs Chriſt Jeſus come in the fleſh, is not of God*, or theſe deceivers, who look for him yet to come; theſe things are ſo palpably groſs and weak, yea even irrational, that their needs no words to the miſproving of them.

2. *The Viſible Church.*

Whereas a Book entituled fiery darts, ſaith, *R. B. Q. 29.* p. 26. that ſince the Apoſtles dayes there hath been a great Apoſtacie, and that a true Church of Chriſt could not be found, are you of the ſame mind? Anſw. *yea*. Herein agreeing with thoſe

those formerly called *Seekers*. 1. That there was, and is a great Apostacie, as the Scripture foretold, so experience hath evidenced, and that Apostacie in all ages more or less hath been witnessed against; but 2. such an Apostacie as hath wholy destroyed the Church, and laid it so under ground, as that it cannot be found, what is this? *&c.* what is this? but to make much of Scripture at present of no use, which directs Sts. concerning Church Communion, among others Heb. 13. 17. *obey them that have the rule over you and submit your selves, for they watch for your souls,*

V. Catalogum testiũ veritatis.

Πεῖθεσθε, ὑποτάσσεσθε τοῖς ἡγουμένοις.

2. To invalidate those promises of Christ, Matth. 16. 18. *Upon this rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdome of heaven.* And Matth. 28. 20. *Lo I am with you already, to the end of the World.* 3. To give you this whole World, *visibly* into the hands of the Prince of the World, as if Christ had not overcome, but being overcome by Sathan.

Πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.

3. *Thirdly against the Scriptures.*

1. *That it is dangerous for the ignorant and unlearned to read the Scriptures.* 1. How far is this from the assertion of the *Papists*? 2. How doth it justifie them in their prohibiting of Lay-men to read the word. 3. and makes fair way to usher in *Imagines laicorum libros*, Images as Lay-mens Books. Secondly, *If any raises from the Scriptures points, trials, motives, uses, he adds to the Scrip-*

Truths defence. pag. 101.

ture

tures; *and to him are added the curses and plagues*, *Rev.* 22. 18. Whether this? but 1. to destroy all preaching, 2. to condemn their own selves. 3. to discover their ignorance, between the explaining of Truth, and coyning of falsehoods to passe as new truths, their additions are corruptives, the Ministers for illustration, information, incitation, to edification, 4. to condemn Christ and his Apostles, which applied, and urged, in many places of the Scriptures, out of the old Testament cited. 3. *That the Scripture is not the word of God, nor a standing rule.*] In this way are grosely ignorant, or wilfully malicious, or both, they will acknowledge no word of God but Christ, as if no difference between *verbum internum & externum*, an inward and outward word, *verbum oris & Scriptum*, the word spoken and written, the thoughts of my mind are *soliloquia* a talking with my self, what I speak is the word of my mouth, and what I write is my word under my hand, *Christ* is the *eternal, internal word of God*, the Wisdome of the father, the Scriptures, much of it was spoken by God by the *mouth of his holy Prophets, and all written, as holy men of God were inspired by the Holy Ghost*: they would seem to exalt Christ, it is to debase the Scriptures, and deifie the light within them, but if they will not hear *Moses and the Prophets*, which testified of Christ, neither would they Christ the word of God. Heb. 1. & 1. *God who in sundry times, and in diverse manners, spake in times past unto the Fathers by the Prophets*

In eodem loco.

Fiery dart p. 19. 30. 32.

Quakers folly p. 25. 2. Ed.

Ὁ Θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς προφήταις

phets] was not that then the word of God the prophets ſpake? 2. And why not a *ſtanding rule*? The papiſts indeed ſay it is *a noſe of wax a leaden rule*, that the Pope may ſtand; and ſo for the upholding of your unſcriptural revelations, the Scripture muſt not ſtand, but when we ſhall all ſtand before the judgement Seat of Chriſt, we ſhall be judged according to this rule, and thereby ſtand or fall. 4. *That it is not a perfect rule of faith and Converſation to walk by.*] 1. Though the Scripture ſay it is able *to make the man of God perfect*. 2. The papiſts and they concur again, the papiſts to eſtabliſh *papæ decretalia* the Popes decrees, the *Quaker* to make way for the reception of the *light within them*, be it *the Prince of darkneſſe*, and that his deluſive revelations may be ſwallowed and followed. 5. *That it is the Divel in man that contends for the Scriptures to be the word of God.* Here is Equivocation, Ignorance, Blaſphemy, either one or all; for if he takes the word of God for Chriſt, none ever affirmed it; if for that God ſpake by the mouth or pen of his Servants, then it is a groſſe calumniating of the holy Spirit. 7. *That the light wich is in all the Indians, Americans, and other Pagans on earth, is ſufficient without Scripture.*] 1. It is much that *Scripture* ſhould not, and yet *natural light* is. 2. That the light which is ſo *week* and *dimne*, ſhould be ſo *ſtrong* and *cleer*. 3. That what diſcovers *nothing of Chriſt*, ſhould *enough to heaven*.

2 Tim. 3. 17. ἄρτιος πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἐξηρτισμένος.

Jam. Naylor 5. Anſwer to *Jews* p. 22.

Naylors Anſwer to *Baxter.* p. 48.

4. *Againſt*

4. *Against Ordinances.*

Even all at once ſtrikes *Gotherſon* in his *Alarum, pag.* 2. and elſewhere; "The man Chriſt "Jeſus, the great Prophet, declared in general "terms, what ſhould be in latter times, leaving "it to every Son and Daughter, to declare their "particular experiences, when the Spirit doth "riſe up in them, and manifeſt himſelfe unto "them, for they that believe, ſaith he, out of their "Bellies ſhall flow Rivers (or plentifull diſco-"veries) of the Water of Life, therefore as *Mo-"ſes* gave way to Chriſt, for when Chriſt appea-"red in the fleſh, *Moſes* adminiſtration began "to be ſilent, and drew back, and ſet Jeſus "Chriſt in the Chair, to be the great Propher, "that ſhould be the teacher in Types after him, "and the miniſtration of thoſe diſcoveries, were "to reign in the world their appointed times, "even ſo the Lambe Chriſt Jeſus, or that ſingle "body, gives way to the holy Ghoſt, or ſpread-"ing ſpirit, *John* 16. 7. 17. 21. *If I go not away the comforter cannot come.*

Here is much of truth, but miſ-timed, and a-buſed, to the deſtruction of all Chriſts viſible Kingdome: it is true. 1. God ſent Chriſt the great Prophet, that to him, 2. *Moſes* gave way, 3. that the preſent adminiſtration will ceaſe, 4. but not till he hath delivered up the Kingdome to his Father, *Epheſ.* 4. 13. 5. that the ſending of the Comforter, did but further

the Apostles, to plant Christs visible Kingdome, and now as a sanctifying and comforting spirit, is conveyed by Ordinances, and makes them profitable.

Quakers folly, p. 57. 2 Ed.

Truths defence, p. 98. *James Parnel*, and *Naylors* answer to *Ives*, p. 14. 29. G. *Whitehead's*, *Cains Generation*, p. 11. Matth. 1. 28. 19. Acts 2. 8. 36. 10, 47. * *Non distinguunt sed nomen contemnunt.* *Richard Hubberthorns* Truths defence, p. 39. 103.

Suitable to this tenet is that Speech of Mr. *Fisher*, in conference with Mr. *Thomas Foxton* Jurate of *Sandwich*, and *Thomas Barber*, Cooper of *Dunkirke*, *May* 12. *That he himselfe was above Ordinances, and that there is no more use of them in this life to many persons, then there is of a Candle light when the Sun shines*; and he gave instance in the uselesnesse of *Baptisme* and the *Lords Supper*.

1. *Water-Baptisme denyed to be an Ordinance of Christ.*] 1. It is their way to set up appointments of their *owne*, and throw down *Christs*; *they* must be heard, but *Christ* not obeyed. 2. *When* and *where* was *Water-baptisme* abolished? first the *institution*, and secondly *practice* is full and cleer: 3. But it must be *Water-baptisme* with them, not to shew the *Element*, *but your* contempt of the *Ordinance*, * and alwaies they that esteem *too high* of their *own* things, think *too low* of Christs.

2. Concerning the *Lords Supper*, Mr. *Kellet* in *Lancashire* quæries, *Whether did not Christ institute his last Supper with Bread and Wine? Rich. Hubberthorn* answers, *That Christ spake not of Bread and Wine, but the Bread which Christ calleth his Body, is to be understood of his Church, but the Cup which thou drinkest we deny, for thy Cup is the Cup of Devils, and thy Table is the Table of Devils, which is an Idol and imitation, and thy Sacrifice is*

to Devils, and not to God. And is this from the Spirit of the Lord? Oh! the patience of the Lord, to endure such breath of Blasphemy, this is so contrary to *Faith* and *Charity*, that it shall not need more words, then the Angels disputing with the Devil, *the Lord rebuke thee.*

3. *Preaching the Word, Praying, Singing, are no appointments of Christ, but inventions of Men.* They do well to strike at *all*, nothing of God that is in the Word of God, are not all these things *there* required? who so ignorant as need to be instructed where? but it seems they are such builders, as would not leave a *stone upon a stone.*

'Επιτιμᾶσαι σοι κύριος. Hel broke loose, pag. 27. Against all our worship. Naylor against Baxter, p. 25. 32, 33. against our singing *Davids* Psalms, p. 28. Λίθον ἐπὶ λίθον. Answ. to *Edward Brocks* letter, p. 9.

4. Against Sabbaths. *No Sabbath to be kept*, and indeed they that deny *the ordinances* of the day, no wonder if *the day.* And in this their practice is suitable to their doctrine, even in contempt of *Gods day*, and *Magistrate*, daring to open Shops, and exposing wares to sale, taking no notice of the morality of the *fourth Commandement*, nor the Churches practice in the Apostles dayes; it is in vain to note the universal custome of the Churches of Christ ever since, but they think to carry the day the better, if they can bear down the *day* of *the Lord*: but oh! that they would remember his burning wrath breaking out against *Sabbath-breakers*, in our *Land* and *dayes*, if they will not let others read *Birds Theater*, *Burtons Tragedy*, and the *sad state of the land* since the *book of Sports.*

Richard Farneworths answer to the *Westmerland* Ministers Petition, p. 5. *Goliah*, p. 7. Truths defence, p. 96. κατὰ πόλιν.

5. Against *Ordination*. *The Ministers of God never were sent forth from God, by a mediate sending, but were immediately sent*] The tendency of this is first to destroy the Ministry, since the Apostles, and secondly to make way for the reception of *themselves* as *Prophets* and *Apostles*, *they exclude us, that they may raign*, but what then becomes 1. of *Timothy*, 2. of those *Elders* ordained in every City, 3. of those directions given to *Titus* and *Timothy*: but it seems their design is to down with all, and by bringing in *New-light* to extinguish *all*, and to leave us in worse then *Ægyptian* darkness.

5. *Against Original Sin.*

Proud Pharisee reproved, p. 13.

That the Doctrine of Original corruption, is a Soul-destroying, God-blaspheming doctrine] Surely those that boast of *perfection* are *perfect* no where, neither in *their hearts* nor *words*, not so much as *ad integritatem*, to soundnesse, but wholly corrupt, denying *Original Sin*, *the old Pelagian*, *Arminian*, *Anabaptistical error*, so much against, first cleer Scripture, and secondly sad experience, first the Scripture paints us to the life, what by Nature, and what born; secondly, and we our selves discover our selves, even going astray, as it were visibly from the Mothers womb. Oh! that they which pretend so much to the *extraordinary* mind of God, should be such strangers to their *own hearts*.

6. *Against*

6. *Againſt Juſtification.*

1. *That this is a blinde doctrine which preaches, that righteouſneſſe which juſtifies is not in them.* 2. *He that hath a covering for his ſins, no nearer then above the Stars, will one day be found naked.* 3. *The Obedience of Chriſt, and of the Creatures, is not two Obediences but one.* 4. *That Chriſt bought us not with the price of his blood, that was ſhed upon the Croſſe at Jeruſalem onely* | Theſe tenets, 1. how derogatory are they to Chriſt? 2. how comfortleſſe to ſinners? 3. how croſſe to the deſigne of God, to exclude boaſting? 4. yea how pernicious to Souls? firſt, in tempting them to the rejecting *the righteouſneſſe of God, of Faith, of Chriſt*, and ſecondly, ſeeing after a righteouſneſſe of their *own*, which they ſhall never attain unto. 5. How neer of kin to thoſe poſitions of the Papiſts *de juſtificatione?* but either we muſt ſtop our eares to ſuch doctrine, or refuſe to open them to plain Scripture.

Hel broke looſe, p. 22. 23. *Burroughs* againſt *Firmin*, p. 21. *Naylor* againſt *Higgenſon*, p. 8. & 22. Truths defence P. 95.

7. *Againſt religious Education.*

That for Maſters and Miſtreſſes to make their Servants read Scriptures, and to bring them to the publick Ordinances, argues a perſecuting Bonner-like ſpirit, and is a ſeeking to dethrone Chriſt, and is treaſon againſt the King of Saints, and his tender Lambs | What is this? but firſt to load with calumny and reproach, that which God highly commends in

Proud Phariſee reproved P. 37.

Gen. 18. 19.

Abraham; secondly, and to deter men from that which God in the Old and New Testament doth so inforce upon them. Thirdly, but all is of designe, that first, so Children and Servants may be left as a prey to them, secondly, and God altogether forsaken in the next generation, and his name not named among men.

8. *Of Light within.*

To shew they are in Darkness, and would hold men there, they assert heterodoxes concercerning the *Light within*, as

Answ. to *Westmerland* Petition, pag. 14.

1. *That the Light which is in every one that comes into the world, shews a mans sin and evil, and the deceipts of his own heart*] They are strangly confused in holding out their Light, and know not how well to distinguish *inter conscientiã naturalẽ*, a naturall conscience *& mentem divinitus illuminatam*, a minde illuminated with Gospel revelations: they finde *Christ* called *the light*, and of him said, *that he lightneth every one that cometh into the world*, and that in men naturally there is a *Conscience* excusing or accusing, and these things they strangely jumble together: that natural light, *lux concreata ut naturæ insita*, doth and will convince men of *many sins*, is undeniable *teste experientia*, by experience, but that by the light thereof a man may come to the knowledge of all transgression, and be able to see into the bottom of his heart *r*, who but an ignorant one in Gods word will affirm?

Joh. 1. 9. Φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

r Jer. 17. 9. עקב הלב מכל יאנוש הוא מי ידענו

2. *That*

2. *That it is pure, and whosoever beleeves and followes it, shall not abide in darknesse, but shall have eternal life*] Then Christ is in vain, *if righteousnesse could have been by the Law, Christ dyed in vain* s *but in as much as it was weake, God sent his Son* t &c. so if *life* could have been by *natures light* what need Christ have come to be *a light to lighten the Gentiles* u? that were *without God, and Christ, strangers from the Covenant, aliens from God* w, *through the ignorance that was in their mindes* x.

3. They make it *all* and every thing, *quidlibet ex quolibet*, as appears by those assertions of theirs. 1. *Christ is this light*, 2. *it is the Light and Spirit of Christ*, 3. *it is the Light, Spirit and power of God to Salvation*; 4. *the perfect Law of Liberty*; 5. *the Lord God, and the Lamb is the Light within me*; 6. *it is the Light of the Covenant of Grace.* 7. *It is God, and when* Paul *committed the Saints to God, it was to the light within them*; 8. *it is the word of Faith*, 9. *Reason and understanding*, 10. *a perfect rule in every mans Conscience*; 11. *that in a man which is just, equal, and righteous, telling him he ought not to do wrong*; 12. *that from which the Scriptures were given forth*; 13. *the same thing with the light and life of* Adam *in Paradise.* 14. *No other thing then the light of the Gospel*; 15. *the same light with the anoynting, both in Beleevers, and in Unbeleevers.*

A pretious thing, if they could tell what, but

s Truths defence, pag. 86. Gal. 2. 21. δωρεὰν

t Rom. 8. 3.

u Luk. 2. 32. φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν.

w Ephes. 2. 12.

x Ephes. 4. 18.

Naylors answer to *Higgenson* p. 6. *Wickednesse weighed*, p. 22. *Farnworth* against *Hagger*, p 57. *Naylers* answer to *Higgenson*, p. 5. *Farnworth* against *Hagger*. p. 54. pag. 48. *Hubberthorn* p. 18.

Naylors answer to *Harris*, p. 11.

Naylers answer to *Harris*, p. 15. *Farnworth* against *Hagger*, *Burroughs* against *Firmin*. p. 18. 19. Answer to *Bark*, p. 6. 7. *Hubberthorn* against *Hinterton*, p. 8. *Burroughs* answer to *Bunnion*,

Truths defence, p. 67. Esay 8.20. אין לה שחר

thus they speak, because the Light is not in them, but by this Light a man may see a *designe* of *darkneſſe*, there is, as 1. to take men off from the *Scriptures*: 2. To lul asleep their own Conſciences, when they alone ſhall be judge of their own actions. 3. To prepare them to receive any dictates, that an impudent fellow ſhall dare to impoſe from *the Light within him*. 4. To give men up into the immediate hands of the Devil, to be abſolutely at his command, when he ſhall ſtrangely ſuggeſt any thing to them, taking his impulſes of darkneſſe to proceed from Conſcience, Spirit, Chriſt, God within them, as is plain in *Gilpin*, and *Tolderrey*.

Theſe are grand *Errors*, *Hereſies*, *Blaſphemies* of theirs, razing the very foundation, leading men from *God*, *Chriſt*, *Scripture*, unto the *Devil* and *Deſtruction*; other groſſe abſurdities there are, for *uno conceſſo ſequuntur millia*, but becauſe we have ſufficiently raked already in a filthy Dunghil, we ſhall but onely name them.

1. *That of Perfection.*

Naylor against Ives p. 13. Farnworth against Hugger, p. 7.

That thoſe that have received Chriſt and God are come to perfection, that all ſuch as are in Chriſt are without ſin] Alas! poor men, their *perfection* is verbal; their imperfection *real*, they are *perfect Talkers very imperfect Walkers*, he that is not blind may ſee your nakedneſſe, that they impudently boaſt of, they are far from, only they glory in their ſhame, and count their unrighteouſneſs for righteouſneſſe; if to be proud, railing, curſing,

sing, and blaspheming, seducing of Souls be to be perfect, then are they such, far better men have been far more humble, *not that I have already attained*, saith *Paul*. *In many things we offend all*, a *and he that saith he hath no sin is a Lyar, and the truth is not in him.*

a Jam. 1. 2. Πολλὰ γὰρ πταίομεν ἅπαντες.

2. *Of Discerning.*

That the Saints by the Spirit that is in them, can judge of mens hearts, and that such judging is Christs judging of men, and that Christ shall judge no where else but in the Saints.] Miserable men! that know not themselves nor their own hearts, and yet pretend to the knowledge of others, contrary to that, *who knows the things of a man, but the spirit of a man that is in him?* And it were a happinesse to them, if they should not all b *appear before the jugement seat of Christ to render an account of the things they have done in the flesh, for God hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world*, by the man Jesus, of which he hath given witnesse in raising him from the dead, as *Peter* hath it.

Naylors Answer to Pendarres, P. 7.

b 2 Cor. 5. 10. Ἰὸς παντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν.

Other strange Doctrines have been broached by some of them. *Nicholas Kate* of *Harwel* in *Berks*, 1. *That Marriage was made by man.* 2. *That Christians were worse then Beasts.* 3. *That any woman was as free to him as his wife.* 4. *That his wife was no wife of his, she was a Limbe of the Divel.* 5. *That he was holy, and all things that he touched were holy.* 6. *That when the fulnesse of time was come he should work miracles.* g

Hel broke loose. p. 37

e In doctrine false, in practice possibly true.

f Holy St. Nicholas.

g In good

One time.

One of *Briſtol* being at *Marleborough* in the County of *Wilts* affirmed, 1. *He knew no ſuch thing as the Reſurrection of the body.* h 2. *That the body of Chriſt was not in heaven, neither ſhould he come thence with a body.* 3. *He defended thoſe that went naked.* 4. *That he went to bed with a woman not his Wife without ſin.* k 5. *That he was confident of his perfect holineſſe.*] One would wonder that a very natural conſcience, and thoſe things ſhould ſtand together, but being delivered up to ſtrong deluſions, they beleive a lie, and by *a new light from Hell, even extinguiſh the very light of nature,* till God in Hell ſhall raiſe it up again: that a conceit of perfect holyneſſe, could be embraced with confidence by ſuch an unclean perſon!

h 1 Cor 15.

Act. 1. 11.

i They have need of a covering, his to ſhort.

This is but one part of his perfection

k but none beſide himſelf confident.

If the Reader will trouble himſelf with more, he may read theſe following,

Tolderryes foot out of the ſnare.

1. *That Edens garden is the World, the trees all living beings, that Paradice is in man, that men fell by harkening to the wicked, which was the fleſhly mind, and that not the woman properly, but the ſilleſt and weakeſt part was the woman that tempted him, that* Adam *was the earthly nature in man.*] and indeed there are extreams to which they are delivered up, *viz. To take ſome Scriptures in the ſtrictneſſe of the Letter, againſt all ſenſe, reaſon and other Texts,* 2. *To Allegorize, and make a myſtical meaning, the main and only ſenſe of words that are hyſtorical and literal,* m

m eſt modus in rebus

Act. 4. 13. ἄνθρωποι ἰδιῶται.

2. *That the Redeemer of man, is not that perſon the Son of God, that dyed at Hieruſalem but the light which is in every particular man, by which he is gi-*

ven

ven to see sin, n *and enabled by it, if obedient to be redeemed from sin.*] What is this? o But 1. to evacuate the whole mystery of redemption. 2. setting up a righteousnesse of works. 3. yea making corrupt conscience in fallen man a Saviour. 4. and fallen man sufficient to save himself.

n Kate could not or would not when he went to another womans bed.

o Pelagianisme, Popery worse then both.

3. *That searching the Scriptures is not the way to find out the Knowledge of Christ, but the turning the mind within.*] Contrary to that of Christ, *search the Scriptures, for they testifie of mee.* p

p Jo 5.39. Q Fol. 2. v. *in fine.*

Questions proposed to, and answered

By Joseph Frice. *Quaker.*

Quest. *WHether the Scriptures be the rule of trying and judging all matters of Faith and obedience to God?* d

Answ. I prove not *Joh. 5. 22. The father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgement to the Son.* a

a A worthy proof if a man could see where the strength lay.

Quest. *Whether the* light within *be sufficient to guide to Salvation, if you never had heard of the Bible?*

Answ. If I had never seen nor heard of the Bible, yet beleiving the witnesse which God hath given, which is Christ, the light, hope, and glory in us, I should have attained to the Knowledge of God. b

b Obscure or false.

Quest. *Whether the teachings or writings of any of your way be infallible or of equal authority with the Scriptures?*

Answ.

Answ. I say, we do not erre in speaking or writing the Truth, and that of God in all consciences, shall one day witnesse this to be true and infallible, and the Scriptures, and our writings, hath and will most certainly come to passe.

Quest. *Whether the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, be three distinct persons in the self same Godhead?*

Answ. Three distinct persons I deny, it is like the Bishops in *Rome*, may own thee in them, for that is some of their unfruitful works of darknesse.

Quest. *Whether Christ hath a divine and humane nature in one person?*

Answ. Thy words *Humane nature*, I return them with those words *three persons*, into the pit of confusion from whence they came.

Quest. *Whether Christ remains for ever a distinct person from all the Saints.*

Answ. but as for being a distinct person from all the Saints he is not.

Quest. *Whether the true Church hath failed upon earth, since the death of the Apostles, until now? If not, in what age or ages, or among what people hath it continued?*

Answ. He can send all, both great and small, rich and poor, bond and free, to receive a mark in their foreheads, or in their right hand. *Rev.* 13. & thus the true Church ceased, since the death of the Apostles, until the raising up of Gods own seed out of the earth, to stand a witnesse against wicked

wicked murderers and perſecuters of the Saints and true Church of Chriſt.

Queſt. *Whether the firſt day of the Week be more holy then any other of the Week?*

Anſw. All the dayes of the Week, as the Lord created them, are holy unto the Saints, who are redeemed from obſerving dayes and months, and times and yeers.

Theſe things are expreſly aſſerted and ſubſcribed.

Joſeph Frice.

Now what ſhall we ſay to theſe things? 1. Is it τι δ'αρον poſſible that ever ſuch things could be entertained as truth, were not that executed the Apoſtle ſpeaks of, *being given up to ſtrong deluſions to beleive a Lie?* 2. Shall they be hearkned to by them that have received the goſpel. Is it not another Goſpel r that they bring. 3. Can we look upon theſe dark and ungodly Tenents, as light leading to more godlineſs & greater perfection is the broad way to Hell, the narrow way to Heaven? 4. How can theſe men be received, and *bid God ſpeed?* but *we muſt be partakers of their evil deeds* s were they *minutiora* ſmall differences, the ſtrength of Charity might bear them, but ſurely theſe *horrid tenents*, that overthrow foundations, and practiſe of them, waſt the conſcience, and deſtroy godlineſſe, are intollerable, and the leaſt Love and Zeal to God and Chriſt, and Souls of men can never beare them.

q 2 Theſſ. 2 11. πέμ-ψει αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐνέργειαν πλάνης εἰς τὸ πι-στεῦσαι αὐ-τοὺς τῷ ψεύδει.

r Gal. 1. 6. εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλι-ον.

s 2 Joh. 11. ὁ γὰρ λέ-γων αὐτῷ χαίρειν, κοινωνεῖ τοῖς ἔρ-γοις αὐτοῦ τοῖς πονη-ροῖς.

Chap.

Chap. 7.

Of Sundry Blasphemies against God, and Railings against his Ministers.

For *their tongues are set on fire of Hell*, as *James* phrases it, and they have not withheld setting their Tongues *against heaven*, and to bring *railing accusation* against the Messengers of the most high, a little of this is too much, the Christian Reader will be quickly weary of it, and therefore we shall not be long.

1. *Of their Blasphemies.*

Perfect Pharisee p. 3. Affirmed by *George Fox* and *J. Naylor* before witnesses who attest 1. Saul's errand. p. 58. *Lancaster* Petition.

1. *That they are equal with God, as holy, just, and good as God himself.*] Pardon me, if here my pen fail me, who can tell what to say to such blasphemous sayings? Humility is a sign of grace, *such pride* of the *fulnesse of iniquity*, the Angels in heaven vail their faces, but these impudent Creatures, Devils incarnate, dare outface heaven, and vie with God, there is but one step higher to affirm, *that they are above God*, but certainly if God give not repentance to such wicked

wicked wretches, they will be below the worst of *Heathen*, for they may not be called *Christians*. 2. *That the being of God is not distinct from them that are begotten by him.*] ignorant creatures that scarce know *any thing that is*, thus to prate concerning the being of God, of which the wisest and holyest men know rather *Quid non sit, quam quid sit*, what it is not, then what it is. 3. *That the nature and glory of the elect differ not from the nature and glory of the creator, for the elect are one with the creator in his nature enjoying his glory.*] Neither knowing *God* nor *themselves*, the *finitenesse* of the creature, nor the *infiniteneſſe* of the Creator: because God speaks much of the oneneſſe and greatneſſe of their glory, therefore can there be none but identity of nature, and equal participation of glory *quoad omnia* in every thing? they may as well confound all, and say the creature is the creator, that the cause is the effect, and effect the cause, that a thing is from another, and that thing is it self, they have not only lost their *Religion*, but *reason*. pride & ignorance, hath made these men more equal to the *Devil* then *God*, and indeed they almost say as much in *totidem verbis*, in so many words. 4. *That God is not distinct from living creatures.* 5. *That the Soul is a part of the Divine essence.* 6. *That there is no distinction of persons in the Deitie.* Notwithstanding the expresse naming of them in Scripture. 2. And their peculiar properties. 3. As likewise attributing to every one of them, those things which are only effected by a God. 7. *That Jesus Christ*

Ford and Fowl Ans. to Speed. Atkinsons sword of the Lord. Houghill and Burroughs Ans. to Reeve.

a Perfect Pharisee pag. 6. at the end of the gag. p. 14. Is it not railing against father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to say [these 3. shall be damned, shut up in perpetual darkneſſe for the lake and the pit] as you say in your Ishmael p. 10. l. last.

Christ is God and man in one person is a lie.] whereby they run themselves upon extreams, either with old Hereticks, as *Paulus Samosatenus Arius*, &c. or making him instead of *one* Lord Jesus Christ *two* with *Nestorius*, or *confounding* the divine and humane nature, making a mixture with *Eutychus* and *Dioscorus*, &c. 8. *That Christ was a man, had his failings, for he distrusted God on the Crosse.*] *quam bene convenient?* How well these things hang together. 1. *They must be equal to God, Christ but a man.* 2. *They perfect, but he a sinner:* Which besides that it makes. 1. him uncapable to save, is 2. diametrically contrary to the word, *he was made like to us in all things, sin only excepted.* 9. *That whosoever expects to be saved by him that died at Jerusalem shall be deceived.*] when Christ, *unlesse you beleive that I am he, you shall dye in your sins*, w and Peter, *neither is there under heaven given any other name, whereby we may be saved.* x 10. *That singing Davids Psalms in English Meeter, is to sing the Ballads of* Hopkins *and* Sternehold *King* James *his Fidlers, and to sing them, is to turn them into Lies and Blasphemies.*] They would disannul the duty of singing, they accustoming themselves to *howling* and *roaring*, contrary to that of *James*, *is any merry let him sing Psalms.* y 2. Neither can they sing *David. Psalms* in *Davids* Language. 3. Neither are they able to judge how well, or how ill they are translated, but are ready to speak ill of what they know not. 11. that *that* word 1. *John* 1. 8. *If we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves, was spoken by the carnal man.*]

denying the Deity.

Gilpin. p. 2.

1 Heb. 4. 15. Χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας.

Perfect Pharisee. p. 8.

* *Act.* 4. 12 *Fowl* and *Ford* against *Speed.*

H. *Clarke* in his Description of the prophets. p. 9.

Fr. Gawler, See Antichrist in mab, by Mr. *Miller*. p. 7.

man.] It stares them so in the face, they would fain out-face it, and so overturns their Doctrine of being without sin, that they would willingly overturn it, and will venture upon calling the *Apostle a Carnal man* rather then themselves should not be thought *perfectly spiritual.* 12. *For our giving forth Papers or printed Books, it is from the immediate, eternal Spirit of God and for the simple ones sakes, as we are moved by the immediate spirit of Christ to write to teach, to exhort, or to put in Print: Truths Defence,* p. 104.] How then comes it that *Gotherson Ep.* 4. 5. is fain to write against others of his own, and call to them to recall their Tenets and repent. 13. All their Railings, Cursings and Blasphemies, they Father on the Holy Ghost, and make them to proceed immediately from the eternall spirit of God in them: as may appear.

2. *Of their railings at Ministers, and slandering of them.*

Only whatever they say is *little* in respect of what before, and there can be no wondring at their Blasphemies *against Men*, when they have thus opened their mouths *against Heaven*. and if they have done these things *to God* himselfe, no wonder if such to his *Servants*, but to speak their language, with which they often salute the Ministers.

That they are of the Synagogue of Satan, and know nothing of God, but are enemies of God, being gui- Hel broke loose, p. 35.

ded by the spirit of error without amongst dogs; whose humility is fained a, that their Sermons are fleshly fancies b, and conversations dirty miry doctrine, a stinking puddle that their hearts are filthy deceitful, seeking praise from men c, that they are scandalous e, following the wayes of Balaam, and Cain, worse then Simon Magus, knowing nothing of the life of the Gospel that they are Heathen, wallowing in the mire and filth of the flesh, on whom all the plagues of God are to be powred; blind guides, proud Baals Priests f, Lyars, Blasphemers g, enemies to Christ Jesus, Murtherers, Sorcerers, Whore-mongers, children of disobedience, greedy dumb Dogs, Witches, Antichrists, Antichrists Marchants, Robbers, Deceivers, Ministers of the World i, Conjurers, Devils of a Serpentine Nature, a brazen faced Beast, Covetous, Idolatrous, Priests, Thieves, Diveliſh Priests, Priests of the world, Foxes, Ministers of Antichrist, proud Pharisees, envious, malicious Priests, Egyptians, Sodomites, Gog and Magog, a seed of evil doers, children of the Devil, blind Watchmen, Backbiters, Railers, Seducers, Taskmasters of Egypt devouring Lyons, Firebrands of Hell Sons of Belial. I shall but adde here one passage for all, Naylor against Baxter, p. 30. "Thou askest if "it will be for the peoples profit to despise their "Teachers, and Guides? I say you who have "despised Christs commands, to set up your "own Lusts and Pride, Covetousnesse and false "Worship must be despised, and when such "Guides are discovered, then shall the people "profit, when they come to be guided by that "Spirit

a Their hearts they know.
b And they Q. for real flesh.
c Thats right.
d They have little from you.
e What all? Scandalum acceptum. Be sure to say enough. Muse as they use.
f The best that ever he had. I hope.
g They Q. ner guilty.
i Worse then themselves.

"Spirit God hath given to every man to profit
"withall, which you will keep them from as
"long as you can, that you may fill up your mea-
"sure, and wrath come upon you to the utter-
"most, being captivated by the Devil Soul and
"Body; the God of this world having blinded
"your eyes, so that the Gospel is hid from you,
"and you lost, setting up the Letter instead of
"it, having denyed the light, and erred from
"it, are got up into hardnesse of heart, impri-
"soning, beating, making havock like rude
"Beasts, what ever the Devil did where he
"reigned, so do you; being the head of the Ser-
"pent, which Christ is come to bruise, as he
"did in his own person, so *he* is the same brood,
"*who* now *are* found in the same bloody plots a-
"gainst the seed of God, *worse then ever any*,
"seeking the lives of others for practising that
"in life which your selves will preach in words
"for Money; *such a generation of raging Beasts*
"*was never yet in the world* who seek to devour
"on every side you, and who departs from sin
"is your prey, *the greatest deceivers that ever yet*
"*came*, now when you come to be revealed,
"who would have believed that you who have
"had so many millions of pounds, for teaching
"people to forsake sin? and now if any declare
"that he hath forsaken it, and is set free, you
"preach it down as the most dangerous error
"that ever was.

So Printed.

Full of Slander, empty of Charity, and who can ascribe this but themselves to the good spirit of God.

Enough, *ne quid nimis*, surely they are angry, and I am apt to think the Ministers have hit the *Devil in them* a sound rap of the nose, that makes him to roar so loud. But yet they are not altogether foolish, there is some wit in their anger, though it be but *Serpentine*.

The end of their railing without end.

1. Hereby would they alienate the Peoples affections from them, present them so ill, that the people might get no good by them.

2. To get esteem, and gain by what others lose, they would by this be thought exceeding zealous, none like them, for God, Christ, and Souls; truly had they kept in their poyson when they vented all this, they might have been better thought on, but to be so evill themselves, while they are making others so, is not politick.

3. To prepare the Ministers for more, to exercise them with their *tongues*, that they may better tye their *hands*, this is but a paper of Devils set on your heads, before your bodies be brought to the stake; but might I advise, men should first stop their Eares, secondly, bridle their Tongues, thirdly, shun their company, and fourthly, let them be branded for *hideous Blasphemers, notorious Railers*.

CHAP.

Chap. 8.

A short account of a dispute *at* Cambridge, Aug. 1659. *between three* eminent Quakers, *and* one Scholar.

AUG. 25. *T. S.* of *Chr. Col.* returning home from *Saint Johns Library*, saw *George Whitehead* preaching in the Quakers *common meeting House* b, when *Whitehead* had done, he confuted his Doctrine, but considering how apt silly women were to be misled, he sent *the following* to the *Maior*, hoping to reclaime in the end his c Wife, who it seems was then a *Quaker*.

The Quaker disarmed, Pref.

b Over against *Sidney* Col.

c The Majors.

Whereas *George Whitehead* delivered, first, *that they are not Heretickes, second, teach no other but what Abraham and Christ*, and thirdly said, *that the Scriptures are not the Word of God.* I am ready at any hour or place: 1. *to prove these false:* 2. *to make good my Arguments last used against him.* 3. *That it is a sin for him to preach (or any such) or for any to hear him.*

Chr. Colh. T. S.

The Major sent for *Whitehead*, who before him wrote,

1. *That we do not open a door to Heresies.*
2. *That we are not Heretick*s, because
3. *We do not teach any Heresie* d.
4. *We walk not in the steps of Heretick*s.
5. *That the Bible is not the Word.*

d So it is a signe.

And this he would maintain e against *T. S.* at what time and place the *Major* should appoint. Then *George Whitehead* caused these positions to be writ, saying he would defend them also f.

e *Quantum potuit.*

f His strength was great, or wit small.

6 *The Scriptures doth not say if any man say he hath no sin, he deceives himselfe.*

7. *I deny that this is a truth* \if *any man say he hath no sin, he deceives himselfe as concerning the Saints* g.

g But the Saints on Earth will say so.

8. *It is not a sin for me, or any such man to preach, or any to hear us.*

Aug. 27. *T. S.* not hearing of the time and place of meeting, went to the *Major* to know what was resolved, he answered, the *Aldermen* were not willing it should be in the Town-Hall h, so that if *there* were any dispute, it must be in the *Quakers common Meeting-house*, but several Aldermen were not willing there should be any; and that he would not advise T. S. to dispute, whereupon T. S. resolved, not

h Some of them according to this relation too, willing their common meeting should be in the own.

to

to dispute against the minde of the Corporation *i*.

i Modest and sober.

Aug. 29. came this from W. to T. S.

Friend, T. S. this is to certifie *thee*, that according to our agreement, when I was with *thee*, I am willing to give *thee* a meeting, and seeing no other place is appointed, I intend to be at our Meeting place this day about one or two, where I may expect thy appearance, according to thy promise to me, first to produce thy arguments, &c. subscribed. *G. Whitehead.*

Immediately he received another, from Mr. *James Alders*. *Sir*, I was called this morning to Mr. *Majors*, and there I was told, that it is the desire of the Quakers to meet you at their house of meeting, they begin to think you are afraid to meet them, &c. *k*

k Crow before victory.

Notwithstanding T. S. continued in his Chamber, till one came from Mr. *Alders* to tell him, the Quakers were met, and reported that T. S. did not dare to come, thereupon he went.

When met *G. W.* told the people the Questions to be disputed were; 1. *Whether it were a damnable sin for him to preach, and secondly a damnable sin for any to hear him.* But T. S. began as the propositions lay in his paper, and so went to prove; *that Quakers do open a door to damnable Heresie.* Quaker disarmed dispute.

T. S. *he that writ* Ishmael *and his Mother cast out, opens a door to damnable Heresies, but you writ*

writ that Book, therefore. *Whitehead* answered he did not write it all for there is somewhat scribled *l* in it. *T. S.* asked if he were the Author of all printed in it, he answered, about three yeers ago, I and four more writ it between us, *m* and said that he would own it.

l It was all but scrible.

m Multis manibus grande levatur onus.

T. S. further urged, *All Papists open a door to damnable Heresies, you who writ this Book are a Papist therefore.*

W. I am no Papist.

T. S. He who refuses to take the Oath of abjuration is a Papist, he who writ this refuses to take the Oath of abjuration, therefore a Papist.

Here *George Fox* *n* made a long Discourse to prove that it was not lawful for a Christian to swear, *o* and would have had *T. S.* proved it was lawful to swear, who answered it was beside the Question. Here the *Majors Wife* entreated *T. S.* to lay aside *Whiteheads* Book, and dispute from *Scripture*.

n a notorious Quaker as before.

o To put off the odium of refusing the Oath of Abjuration, it is no duty to curse, or rail, and blaspheme *p* What is that to them, but a blind.

So *T. S.* did from. 2. *Cor.* 5. 20. *He who pretends to be an Ambassador of Christ, and hath no commission to shew, but what all the damnable Heretick in the World do or may shew, that man opens a door to damnable doctrines: But you pretend to be an Embassador of Christ, and have no commission to shew but what all the damnable Heretick in the World do or may shew therefore.*

W. I have my Commission from Christ, and did ever any Heretick pretend a Commission from Christ.

T. S. Yes, *David George*, *Socinus*, *Arius*, and

and all the Hereticks I ever read of.

W. They could not prove it by the effects as I, *i.e.* shew the people converted by them.

T. S. They could; *Arians* converted a nation of Infidels to Christianity, and his opinions in a short time spread so far, that all the World seemed *Arian.* q

W. But did the Hereticks live good lives ?

T. S. It is confessed that *Arius* and his did, that *Pelagius* did, and I remember that no *Sect-master* that did not.

q *Totus mundus est Ariamus.*

Here *Whitehead* would prove himself no Heretick, from 2. *Pet.* 2. 1, 2. *Hereticks are those that deny the Lord that bought them. I do not deny the Lord that bought me, therefore--*

T. S. I deny the Major, all Hereticks do not deny the Lord that bought them, the Apostle instances but in one sort, even the worst, who would even deny the Lord; it followes not hence, none are false Teachers, or false Prophets, or Hereticks, but such as deny the Lord that bought them. r

W. I have Christ within me, therefore I do not deny the Lord that bought me.

r A *particulari ad universale non valet consequentia.*

T. S. You do not prove your Major.

Here being silent, *T. S.* Out of this place urged against him, *He that writ* Ishmael *and his Mother cast out, even denyes the Lord that bought him, but you writ that Book.* There the Major he further proved, *He that denyes Persons in the Trinity, and calls him Dreamer and Conjurer who asserts them, saying, that a man who saith there*

be 3 persons in the Trinity, shall be shut up with them in perpetual darkness for the Lake and the pit, that man is an Heretick, even denying the Lord that bought him, but you George Whitehead *deny the 3. persons in the Trinity*, &c. This Minor was proved out of the Book it self, *p.* 10. *the 3. persons thou dreamest of, which thou wouldest divide out of one like a Conjurer, all are denyed, and thou shut up with them in perpetual darkness for the Lake and the Pit.*

Here *Fox* made a long Discourse against the *Trinity.*

T. S. I came not to hear you repeat a deal out of *Paul Beast*, I came to dispute.

Fox. Prove there be 3 persons.

T. S. 1. Joh. 5. 7. *There be 3 that bear Record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these 3 are one.* Thus, *If the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be* 3 He's, *then* 3 *persons, but they are* 3 He's *therefore--*

Fox. What mean you by 3. *He's.*

T. S. Three that may as it were be pointed at he, he, he.

n While H. D. gibes at 3 He's, and the argument for three persons taken from the places, he considers not that *T. S.* was necessitated to condescend to vulgar capacities, who cryed out they would hear no Philosophy or School-terms

Fox. I do not like that argument.

T. S. Therefore further, are you three Persons that dispute against me?

Fox. Yea.

T. S. Prove it.

Fox. We are in 3 places, and therefore 3 persons.

T. S.

T. S. Therefore replied, *the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost have been in three places, and therefore 3. persons*; at the Baptism of Christ, while *Jesus* came up, the *Holy-Ghost* down, and the *Father* in heaven. s Argumentum ad hominem.

Fox. Persons have flesh and blood. t

T. S. Angels are persons and have not, one of them said, Angels are not persons. u

Fox. A person is a subsistence.

T. S. So are *Father, Son, and holy Ghost.*

t Learnedly.

u Well versed in Metaphysicks

T. S. Further argued: *He who denies the Bible to be the word of God, saying that to assert Scripture to be the word of God, is one of the deceitful immaginations which the Priests of this generation have deceived the people with, that man is an Heretick: But you deny the Bible to be the word, and tell Mr.* Townsend, *that to assert it, is one of the deceitful imaginations which the Priests of this generation have deceived the people with:* See *Ishmael and his mother cast out. p.* 1 *. lin.* 1. therefore-- This was not answered, but *Fox* said, they cannot be three persons, because they were not visible in several places.

T. S. If *Christ* was man, and the holy Ghost was in the form of a Dove, then they were both seen.

Fox. Prove that they were seen in several places.

T. S. One was seen in the water, the other out.

Fox. Prove they were seen. w

w *Fox* could not or would not see.

T. S. Many beheld them both.

Fox. The Holy Ghost could not be seen.

T. S. He was in the form of a Dove, therefore could be seen.

Fox. Not in the form of a Dove, but in the likeness *x*, hereat some laughing, he answered that he was seen, but not visible. *y*

x Rare.

y Surely his religion, reason, and wits were lost.

By this relation it is visible to be seen.

1. Their boldness.
2. Their crowing without cause.
3. Their inability to argue.
4. Their little or no learning. *z*
5. Their strange opinions about the Trinity and Scripture.
6. How they run beyond all reason and sense to defend their tenets.

z At least that any of them will be known of.

Lastly, Their obstinacy, when neither Scripture, reason, nor sense can convince them, their damnable errours and stupid obstinacy will surely conclude such men Hereticks.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

A brief relation of three Disputations at Sandwich *April* 1659. *between* Fisher, Whitehead, *and* Hubberthorn *Quakers, and Mr.* Danson *Minister there.*

1. *Disputation*, April 12.

§. 1.

Quakers folly, p. 1. Edit. 2.

Quest. *WHether every man that cometh into the world be enlightned by Christ?*

Danson. We grant every man hath some light by which he discerns, though dimly, many, 1. Sins. 2. Duties. 3. Divine Attributes; but the mysterie of godlinesse, 1 *Tim.* 3. *ult. God manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit*, &c. we deny that all men have the knowledge of.

Hubberthorn. The light is but one.

Danson. The lights mentioned, 1. Naturall, and 2. Supernaturall are two, though all have the one, yet few the other: *If your meaning be that the knowledge of the Gospel is vouchsafed by Christ to every man*, I prove the contrary *Page 2.*

1. Psal. 147. 19, 20. *He sheweth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and judgements unto Israel, he hath not dealt so with any nation, and as for his judgements they have not known them.*] By the *Word, Statutes*, and *Judgements* are meant the knowledge of the Gospel; and the Psalmist asserts

serts no nation beside the *Jewes* had this knowledge at this time.

2. *Ephes.* 2. 12. Speaking of the Gentiles before Christ, the Apostle sayes, they were *without Christ, strangers from the covenant of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world.*] They who had no hope, that is, no ground of hope of salvation, were ignorant of the promises, the ground of hope, and so of God in Christ the object of hope; and so of the summe of the Gospel.

Page 3. *Geo. Whitehead.* Rom. 2. 15. sayes, *The Gentiles have the Law in their hearts.*

Danson. It is spoken of the natural light, for its opposed to the knowledge of the Jewes.

Whitehead. It is said to be the knowledge of whatsoever *might be known of God*, Rom. 1. 19.

Danson. The Apostle intends, that what might be known of God, without the preaching of the Gospel, was known to the Gentiles, *vers.* 16, 17. It is by the Gospel the righteousness of God is revealed. *John* 4. 22. Christ tells the Samaritans, the *Jewes* (exclusively) knew what they were shipped, and that salvation was of the *Jews*, and in respect of this Gospel-knowledge, the *Gentiles* are said to have their understandings darkned, *Ephes.* 9. 18.

Whitehead. That place sayes, that the *Gentiles* were not so enlightned as afterward; for he said that Christ was given *for a light to lighten the Gentiles?*

Danson. It proves not that Christ was a light

Danson. In whose? Not of all mankind, but of the Apostles and some others, a small number in comparison; and therefore *vers.* 3. the Apostle sayes, *The Gospel was hid to them that were lost.* And *vers.* 4. There are some *to whom the light of the Gospel doth not shine.* And *Mat.* 13. 11. it was given to the Disciples, not to others to know *the mysteries of the Kingdome.* And *Luke* 20. 21. Christ thanks his Father, that whilst he hid the secrets of the Gospel from the Scribes and Pharisees, he revealed them to others.

Whitehead. Luke 17. 21. The Scriptures say, the *kingdome of God was in them.*

Danson. ἐν ὑμῖν among you, *i. e.* the preaching of the Gospel.

Page 6. *Hubberth. John* 1. 9. Christ *enlightneth every man.*

Danson. Every man that is enlightned, or some of every nation, kindred, tongue and people.

Hubberth. The Scripture saith, *every man.*

Danson. The phrase hath a restrained sense, *Heb.* 2. 9. *Christ tasted death for every man,* when he died but for a certain number. *Vers.* 10. *In bringing many sons to glory.*

Hubberth. Then thou denyest that Christ died for all?

Danson. Yes.

Whitehead. 2 *Cor.* 5. 14. *If one died for all.*

Danson. It is spoken of Converts whose sanctification was the end of Christs death, and for whom Christ rose, and who therefore did rise with him?

Qu. 2.

Qu. 2. *Whether in this life the Saints attain to a ſtate of perfection and freedom from ſin.* §. 2.

Hubberth. 1 John 3. 9. *Whoſoever is born of God doth not commit ſin?* Page 8.

Danſon. It cannot be meant of freedom from ſin, but either, 1. There is an Emphaſis in *ſinne*, meaning ſome ſort of ſin, 1 *John* 5. 16. *There is a ſin unto death*; or 2. an ποιεῖ, which notes to make a trade of ſin, thus the Saints ſin not. Again, it muſt be meant of all Saints born again, and then none ſuch ſin, contrary to 1 *John* 1. 8. *If we ſay we have no ſin, we deceive our ſelves*; and this is ſpoken of ſuch as *verſ.* 3. are ſaid to have *fellowſhip with the father and his ſon.* Page 10.

Fiſher. (*b*) Read *verſ. ult. If we ſay that we have not ſinned, we make him a lyar*: The born of God ſhould lie if they did deny themſelves to have ſinned before the new birth. (*b*) 1. *A Miniſter.* 2. *an Anabaptiſt.* 3. *now a Quaker, & hath been at* Rome.

Danſon. Verſ. 8. It is ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔχομεν, the other οὐχ ἡμαρτήκαμεν, if the latter were to be underſtood of ſins proceeding, the former is *de preſenti.*

Whitehead. Phil. 3. 15. *As many as be perfect.*

Danſon. 1. It is uſed in a comparative ſenſe in reference to others leſſe. 2. Oft in Scripture perfect is put for upright. 3. *Phil.* 3. 12. the Apoſtle denies himſelf yet perfect.

Fiſher. Pſal. 119. 1. *Bleſſed are the undefiled in the way, they alſo do no iniquity*, v. 2.

Danſon. The phraſes are hyperbolicall, *David* otherwiſe excludes himſelf from bleſſedneſſe,

his wish, *vers.* 5. and other passages in the Psalm shews he was not free from sin.

Page 11. *Fisher.* Luke 1. 6. *And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandements and ordinances of the Lord blameless.*

Danson. 1. How doth it appear, that *righteous before God* is meant of perfect inherent righteousnesse? 2. That *blameless* is meant otherwise then comparatively. *Phil.* 2. 15. *Blameless without rebuke*, in the same sense may *Luke* use the phrase, *Phil.* 3. 6. *Touching the righteousness which is in the Law blameless.* When a Pharisee, *i. e.* in respect of others, as *Luke* 18. 10. *Not as other men are.* 3. *Zacharias* is at this time guilty of unbelief, *Luke* 1. 10. *Because thou believest not my words.*

Fisher. No such thing of *Elizabeth.*

Page 15. *Danson.* Your argument is from the phrases; and if applicable to him guilty then they will not argue her to be free.

Danson. Eccles. 7. 10. *There is not a just man upon earth that doth good and sins not.*

Hubberth. If meant as thou wouldst, then Christ was not just.

Danson. Christ was God as well as man, the place excludes any meer man.

(c) Doctor Sublimis. *Fisher.* The just man spoken of is not on (c) earth, for he is redeemed from the earth; and in the *Revelation* he is said to be *a dweller in heaven.* Whereas the wrath of God is said to come *on the inhabitants of the earth.*

Danson. Can you possibly thinke that the just

mans

mans being in heaven in respect of disposition and affection, and in Christ, excludes his locall abode on earth?

Hubberth. Heb. 12. 23. *Spirits of just men made perfect*, spoken of them to whom the Apostle writes. *Page* 14.

Danson. The Apostle sayes, we are one body with them in heaven, the spirits, *&c.*

Quest. 3. *Whether our good works are the meritorious cause of our justification?* §. 3.

Fisher. Contraria contrariorum ratio, our evill works are the cause of our condemnation; therefore our good of justification. (*d*)

d *Surely he was now newly come from* Rome.

Danson. We deny the consequence, because our evill works are perfectly evill, our good but imperfectly so, any one evill is a violating of the Law, and deserves its penalty; but any or more good works, not the fulfilling it. Again, our evill and good works are not absolutely contrary, the one being perfectly evill, the other imperfectly good, *malum ex quolibet defectu, bonum ex integris causis.* Esay 64. 6. *All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags.* Lastly, our good works are due, and so cannot merit, our evil violate the Law.

Fisher. I prove the consequence from *Gal.* 5. 18. *But if you be led by the spirit you are not under the law.* Whence, if they who are led by the spirit are not under the Law, then the leading of the spirit is the meritorious cause of their not *Page* 15.

being under the Law: but they who are led by the spirit are not under the Law.

Dans. This is no proof of the consequence, you should have proved there is *par ratio*, for the merit of evill and good works, and the leading of the Spirit is an effect, not a meritorious cause of not being under the Law, *that is*, obliged to its penalty,

Page 16. *Fisher.* 1 Cor. 6. 11. *Such were some of you, but you are washed, but you are sanctified, but you are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God.* Here the *Corinthians* are said to be justified by the spirit.

Danson. I might say, perhaps the clause should be referred to sanctification, thus; *but ye are sanctified by the spirit of our God*; or else *justified by the spirit*, may be meant of the spirits application.

Fisher. Rom. 8. 2. *The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death.* Now 'tis the same law of the spirit of life that is in Christ and the Saints.

Danson. The Apostle asserts the holinesse of mans nature as a work of the spirit, conforming it to the Law to be the meritorious cause of our freedom from sin and death; but not that which is in us, but in Christ. It is true, the same spirit is in Christ and the Saints, yet doth not the spirit conform us fully to the Law; nor if it did, were that conformity the merit of Justification?

Page 17. *Fisher.* Read *Rom.* 8. 4. *That the righteousnesse of the Law might be fulfilled in us who walke not*

not after the flesh, but spirit. This place says, the righteousnes of the Law is fulfilled in the persons of the Saints.

Danson. Vers. 3. tells, *that the Law was weak through the flesh, i. e.* unable to justifie us in regard of our inability (through corruption) to fulfill it, which were untrue, if we were able; It follows, *God sent his owne son to give what we* could not attain by our own obedience to the Law: And as for *vers.* 4. it imports the end of Christs coming, *that the righteousnesse of the Law might be fulfilled in us*, not in our own persons, but in Christs righteousnesse imputed to us as if inherent.

Danson asked Mr. *Fisher*, whether Infants be in a justified state or no? He answered, there are but two states, Justification, and Condemnation. *Page* 18.

Danson. Before you maintained that our Justification was by a personall fulfilling of the Law; and now you grant some persons to be justified who never did fulfill it personally, here is a contradiction.

April 13. §. 4. *Page* 20.

Danson undertook to prove our good works are not the meritorious cause of our justification, from *Rom.* 11. 6. *And if by grace, then it is no more of workes, otherwise grace is no more grace; but if it be of works, then it is no more of grace, otherwise work is no more worke.* If justification

tation be of works, then grace is excluded, for it cannot be of gift and debt in respect of us, but grace is not excluded, we are justified by grace therefore.

Page 21. Again, *Rom.* 10. 3. *For they being ignorant of Gods righteousness, and going about to establish their owne, have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God, for Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.* The Apostle makes a distinction between our *owne* righteousnesse and *Gods*, finds fault with them, who neglecting Gods, went to stablish their own, and he makes our righteousness a personall conformity to the Law, and Gods righteousness to be Christs, made ours by faith, you therefore are guilty, who make your owne righteousness your justification.

Whitehead. We do not make our own righteousness our justification, but the righteousnesse of God made manifest in us.

Danson. Yesterday you did assert our good works are the meritorious cause of our justification.

Whitehead. We witnesse to the righteousness of God according to *Phil.* 3. 9. *Not having mine own righteousnesse which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith.*

Danson. The righteousness which is of Christ and of God by faith is called *Christ*, ver. 8. *That I may win Christ*, and how he our righteousness? As Christ was made sin for us, *by imputation*,

tion: So that the Apostle by his *own righteousnes* understands his personall conformity to the law, and by Christs, that in Christ made the Apostles by faith.

Whitehead. You make two, whereas the righteousnes of Christ is but one.

Danson. The righteousnesse which the Apostle calls his *owne*, was it not Christs? and yet that was never in Christ as the subject, and Christ had an inherent righteousnes of his own. Here are two righteousnesses, the one for our justification, the other for our sanctification.

Whiteh. Are we not justified by Christ *within us?*

Danson: By Christ without us.

Whiteh. Then by another Christ, and so two Christs: *Page* 22.

Danson. Christ within us is not his *person*, but his *operations*, the cause for the effect, and therefore it follows not, that we make two Christs: So that when I deny Justification by Christ within us, we deny it by that righteousnesse in us, whereof Christ is the Author.

Whiteh. I prove our sanctification gives us a title to the inheritance, *Acts* 20.32. *To the word of his grace which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance.* *Page* 23.

Danson. δυνάμενος cannot refer to grace (or if it did, *grace* intends not sanctification) but ὁ θεὸς God.

Fisher. Tit. 3.7. *That being justified by his grace*, it is the same *with washing of regeneration*

and

and renewing of the holy Ghoſt, verſ. 5.

Danſon. Grace there is meant of the favour of God, manifeſt in the giving of his ſon, imputation of righteouſneſſe and acceptance in him.

Whitehead. Rom. 4. 3. *Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteouſneſs.* Here faith is the cauſe of our Juſtification.

Danſon. Formerly it was, we are juſtified by a perſonall conformity to the whole Law, and now you will prove that a conformity to a part will ſuffice. Again, the Apoſtle doth oppoſe faith and workes, Now if faith be conſidered as a worke, there is no oppoſition, and does not that oppoſition exclude faith as a work? And is boaſting excluded in juſtification by faith as a work? *Rom.* 3. 27. *Where is boaſting? then it is excluded, by what Law? of workes, nay but by the law of faith*: And *Chap.* 4. 5. *to him that worketh not, but believeth.* For the Text, the act is put for the object, as if it had been Chriſt whom his faith layd hold on, was imputed for righteouſneſſe: but that faith is imputed, inſtead of perſonal righteouſneſs, or as the meritorious cauſe I utterly deny.

§. 5. *April* 19.

Q. *Whether the Scriptures are the word of God?*

Page 25. Mr. *Fiſher.* IF you mean by the *Scripture* γραφη the writing, we deny it.

Danſon. We meane the matter contained, whether

whether that be our rule of faith and life.

Fisher. There are severall books which are as much a rule as those in your Bibles. 1 *Cor.* 5. 9. *I wrote to you in an Epistle.* Here you have an Epistle of *Paul* before what you call *the first.* Page 26.

Danson. You should have proved that mentioned, was intended as much for our rule, as those in our books.

Fisher. If written to the same end, then it was intended as much; but it was, therefore

Danson. I deny the consequence; Sermons, private religious discourses, have the same common end, yet Scripture our only standing rule, the other as they agree therewith.

Fisher. What character have you of this Epistles being a rule, that the other wants?

Danson. Do you know it is extant?

Fisher. No. Page 27.

Danson. There is a distinction, God hath reserved these for our use, the other not.

Fisher. Col. 4. 16. *And that you likewise read the Epistle from Laodicea*, a book you have not, but we have.

Danson. All that was written by holy men, and preserved for our use, is not therefore our standing rule, then the discourses of holy Ministers left in print; but what is the title of that Epistle?

Fisher. The *Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans.*

Danson. The place you bring, sayes not an Epistle *to Laodicea*, but *from.* But to the quest. *Whether the books commonly called the Old & new* Page 28. *Testament.*

Testaments were appointed by God for a standing rule of faith and life.

Fisher. There is another, therefore the Scripture is not it. *Gal.* 5. 16. *This I say then, walke in the spirit*; *in* and *by* the spirit, there is our rule.

Danson. That phrase notes the *principle*, not the *rule*.

Fisher. You suppose the *Letter* antecedent to the Spirit, whereas the Spirit is antecedent, and none can walke in the Letter, till in the Spirit?

Danson. The Spirit is *antecedent* in respect of the revelation, but *subsequent* to the Letter, in respect of assistance which he gives to obedience.

Page 29. *Fisher.* If there was a rule before the Scripture, then that is not a rule; but there was, therefore

Danson. It was the same matter, since the Gospel preached to *Adam*, no increase of truths *quoad essentiam sed tantum quoad explicationem*; the manner of conveyance different, but the matter of Doctrine conveyed, still the same.

Page 30. *Fisher.* Rom. 10. 8. *The word is nigh even in thy heart*, but yours is without.

Danson. *It is in thy mouth too.* For you read not all.

Fisher. This is meant of the light in every mans conscience, it is a word which every man hath heard. *Vers.* 18. *But I say, have they not heard? Yes verily, their sound went into all the world.*

Danson.

Danson. Then the light within is the spirit you pleaded for to be the rule in opposition to Scripture: But *vers.* 18. speaks of the Gospel relating to the Preacher, *v.* 11, 12. And though the words are taken out of *Psalm* 19. yet they intend not that naturall knowledge of God which *David* speaks of; but the Apostle intimates, the knowledge of Christ by the Gospel should be of as large extent in the publication as the knowledge of God by the hearers ministry. And the word said to be in the heart is meant of the matters conteined in the Scripture, *that is the word of faith which we preach.* N. B. Page 31.

Fisher. Col. 3. 16. *Let the Word of Christ dwell in you richly*, yours is without.

Danson. It was without, as it was the Letter of the Scripture, and his exhortation was to get acquaintance therewith, and he prescribes means in teaching one another, singing of Psalmes, which were part of the words of Christ, as the matter and author.

Fisher. It is a fond custome to make the people sing *Davids* conditions, who have not his spirit.

Danson. Your objection holds as strongly against the use of them in the times of the *Old Testament*, and yet then they were part of publique Temple-worship; nor is it more a lye to sing, then read them.

By this Dispute you have a further discovery of their false Doctrines, and that in matters of great concernment, how 1. They labour to

make the Scriptures imperfect. 2. Themſelves perfect. 3. And the naturall light in man ſufficient to ſalvation. 4. How, while they would ſet up Chriſt in word, they would ſet up a righteouſneſs of their owne to Juſtification.

In a word, how in many things they plead the Popiſh cauſe, while they cry down the Miniſters of Chriſt. You may alſo ſee their weakneſs and wickedneſſe in wreſting of Scripture, how that ſtrength of argument will not ſatisfie, and ſecure their obſtinacy in darkneſſe under a pretence of light within them, God heal them of their blindneſſe and obſtinacy, or ſtop up their way, that they may not ſeduce Soules to deſtruction, and guide them that feare his name, in wayes of Truth and holineſſe, through the Lord our Righteouſneſs. Amen.

CHAP. X.

Shewing 1. *Quakers inſtrumental to the introducing of* Popery. 2. *In ſome of their Tenents dangerous to* States.

The firſt may appear both by Principles *and* Practices.

1. *In their Tenents.*

1. THat the Miniſters of the *Reformed Churches* are no true Miniſters. 2. That a man

man is justified by the merit of his good workes. 3. That the *Scriptures* should not be read by ignorant and unlearned. 4. That a man may perfectly keep the Law. 5. Denying the imputed righteousnes of Christ for justification. 6. That *Scripture* is not the supream rule. 7. Pretending to revelations and miracles. 8. That *H. D.* doth not know whether Purgatory be revealed in Scripture or not. 9. The infallibility of their Ministry.

2. *Their practice.*

1. *George Cowlishaw*, Ironmonger of *Bristol* affirms on oath, *January* 22. 1654. that in *September* before, he had some discourse there with one *Coppinger* an *Irish* man, who told him that he had lived in *Rome* and *Italy* 8. or 9. years, and had taken the order of a *Franciscan*, and that he had been at *London* lately for some moneths; and whilst there, had been at all the Churches and meetings publique and private that he could hear of, (*a*) and that *none came so neer him as the Quakers*; (*b*) And being at a meeting of the Quakers, he there met with (*c*) two of his acquaintance at *Rome*, *of the same Franciscan order* that were now becom *chief*[d] *speakers* among the Quakers; and that he himself had spoken among the Quakers in *London about thirty times*, and

Pryn. The Quakers deny the thing, *The innocent delivered out of the snare*, p. 40. and the cry of blood, p. 81. on this reason, to affirme no such persons spake among them, and they know the names of such as have not railed.

a How diligent.
b To their praise.
c A design.
d A fair door opened.

(e) Marke. and was *well approved of among them.* (e) *Coppinger* asked him if there had been no *Quakers* at *Briſtoll*, he anſwered, no. He replyed, that if he would give him 5 pound, he would make it five hundred, if ſome did not come within a moneth, and about 18. dayes after, there came two, probably his *two Franciſcan Fryars*, which did much hurt, and gained many Diſciples.

As alſo by what follows, c. 11. c. 4. Since which they have there taken root, and ſpread, of which you have a full diſcovery in the ſtory of *James Naylor*, before ſpoken of, who in his anſwer to *Baxter*, p. 15. takes notice of this ſtory, and thus replyes: "If reaſon "may judge, moſt likely came over to ſecond "your envy againſt us; why did you not keep "him? Seeing the Law required it, then might "it have been proved if he had been a Speaker "amongſt us: And in the margin, read, the "judgements of God begun on him who took "that oath, and take warning.

Anſw. 1. to the 1. It will not eaſily be credited unleſſe by themſelves, their tenents and practices have rendred them ſo bad, we need not be put to ſuch unworthy ſhifts.

2. Are all Lawes executed? we ſhould then be in a far better condition, and they in a worſe, yea *Naylor* himſelfe, through connivance fared better then the Sentence did allow.

3. How blind is that in the Margin; the thing he hints is ſo remarkable and making to his purpoſe, that hee ſhould have told what, or where.

2. *Samuel*

2. *Samuel Fisher* 1. denyed not that he had been at *Rome*; but that he received a pension from the *Pope* he utterly denyed, which is probably as true; for it is had from very good hands, that in his late travell to *Constantinople*, and thence to *Rome*, he had as good bills of *Exchange* as most Gentlemen that travell, and yet it is well known that he hath no visible estate; and the *Quakers* that came to the dispute did report, that he did bear his witness against the *Pope* and *Cardinals* at *Rome*, and yet they suffered him not to be medled with, is it not very suspicious the true cause of his safety was his complyance with them? The Doctrines which he broaches every where being theirs, and a fair inlet to their bag and baggage. Quakers folly. p. 56.

2. Mr. *Thomas Foxton* jurat. *Thomas Barber* *Cooper*, sufficient and credible men of *Sandwich*, had some discourse wth him at *Dunkirke*, and he told them he looked upon the Jesuits and Fryars there to be *sounder*(f) in Doctrine then those *we call the Reformed Churches*. Page 57.

f As *sound* had been fair.

3. Hundreds can testifie how light he made of the charge of *Popery* on the first day of the Dispute, when *Amesius* against *Bellarmine* was produced, and with a gesture of derision he replyed that *Bellarmine* held many truths, which must not be rejected because he held them.

To the former part of this story, *Gotherson* (g) makes a reply such as it is, *viz.* "For those "false aspersions cast upon him of his receiving a pension from the *Pope*, I know his soul "abhor-

g *Allarm.* p. 80

" abhorreth any such thing, and that he is as " great a hater of the *Pope* and his wayes as any " man in *England* is; and I know he hath no " such need, nor ever will have: for they that " *seeke the kingdome of God, and the righteousnesse* " *thereof, all other things shall be administred* " *to them.* And I do verily think that there is " not a man in *England more able to confute error* " *and heresie.*

Answ. Many words, little proof, a great cry, and no wooll; he saith they *are false aspersions*, but proves it not *verba non sunt probata*, unlesse that this must be admitted for one, *I know his soule abhors any such thing*; he may be deceived in the temper of his owne soule, much more in anothers: but *he is as great a hater of the Pope and his wayes as any man in England.* 1. The Pope and his wayes are better beloved then I did imagine. 2. Surely there are thousands in *England* not halfe so well affected as he. 3. His hatred, and the greatnesse of it visibly appears by the latter part of the relation.

Again, *I know he hath no such needs nor never will have.* 1. Many men do that of which there is no need: There are that have pensions, not out of necessity; though he be not one of the *Popes Almes-men*, yet he may be one of his *Factors*: but how proves he? *he never will have, for they that seek the kingdome of God*; the Scripture is true, the inference false. 1. Shall we say, that those who are necessitated to receive almes or pensions, seek not the kingdome of God? Or

2. That

2. That none of them that do shall ever come to need? I am sure I have seen a Quaker begge and plead necessity, and a Minister relieve her too in that condition: But that *Gotherson* hath too high an opinion of Mr. *Fisher* is evident enough. *I do verily thinke that there is not a man in* England *more able to confute errour and heresie.* Oh *England!* if this be so, take up a great lamentation, and bitterly bewail thy sad condition, and the losse of so many famous men that thou formerly enjoyedst, every way furnished with weapons of truth to maintain verity against all opposers: but how is thy condition changed, that now Mr. *Fisher* should be as tall as any in *England*, and as fit to contend for the faith? But for all these swelling words (*h*) of vanity, and doting affection of *Gotherson*, Mr. *Fishers* weakness appears, 1. By his running from one thing to another, Minister, Anabaptist, Quaker. 2. By his managing the Dispute at *Sandwich* so far as he was concern'd, if he be so able, let him peruse his own *Fishers Folly*, his great book in *Folio*, in defence of *Anabaptisme*, and see what he can further maintain, or handsomly retract.

hὑπέρογκα

3. "Mr. *H. Den* in his *Quaker no Papist*, "pretending to defend the *Quaker*, saith not "one word in defence of any Sect, but onely the "down-right *open Papist*, and uses the very same "arguments, and the same words against *Protestants* in generall as the Papists do in their daily printed books.

A gagg for Quakers, Epist. to the Reader.

6. "That no Protestant Minister either in

"*England*, or beyond the Seas, hath any better "ordination or commission to preach then *Geo.* "*Whitehead* the Quaker, p. 8, 9, 10. Lastly, "that the present *Roman* Church, and no other "is the pure Spouse of Christ, or else there hath "been none in all ages.

Lastly, at the end of a *Gag for Quakers*, there are questions propounded to *G. Whitch.* & *Fox*; and p. 16. these considerable passages; "Have "we not cause to believe you *Geo. Whitehead* to "be a Papist? For 1. maintaining Popish Do-"ctrines, expressed in *Ismael*, and other of your "printed books. 2. For refusing to abjure a-"ny one point of Popery. 3. For deterring "the common people from reading *Scripture*, by "telling them in your book against *Clapham*, "*w's Varnal*; *the Letter kills*, and therefore can-"not safely be read by them. 4. For defend-"ing *Bellarmine* with your Collegue *F.* whom "you have seen proved a Papist by witnesses, in "a book printed for *Jab. Allen*, p. 57. 5. For "your pretending to infallibility in all points. "6. For your saying confidently in the *Majors* "house that you knew all the Fathers of the first "three hundred years were Papists. 7. For "your citing places in the *Apocrypha* for Cano-"nicall Scripture, as *Farrot* cites *Wisdome* 4. 8, 9. "to elude *Lewis* 9. 22. See *Golinh*, p. 63. (k) "8. For refusing to tell the people (though oft "urged thereto) at your meeting house in *Pa-"lace yard* last *May*, whether you were a *Ro-"manist* or not, your companion thereupon "wink-

(k) *Vidi & testor.*

" winking at you, and causing you to be silent,
" and let another stand up and exercise in your
" stead. 9. Because the Papists talk passionate-
" ly, and write books in your behalf, and you
" do as much for them against us Protestants.
" 10. Because when you are not among Scholars
" (as at *Lynn* and other places) you pretend to
" learning of all sorts, divine and humane, skill
" in the originall Languages: but when in *Cam-*
" *bridge* you appear unverst in all manner of
" learning. 11. For joyning your selfe to
" such as have Licenses from the Pope to seduce
" men in *England*, with this expres clause, *non*
" *obstante concilio Tridentino*; the original in-
" strument of one of these your brethren *Fry-*
" *ars* with this punctual expression, being now
" with the *Town-Clarke* of *Bristol*. The writing
" of this minds me of what two other Quakers
said at a discourse with them in *Southwarke*, one
of them being told that he was a *Jesuite*; he pre-
sently replyed, he was of *the order of Jesus*; and
the other Quaker, though at some distance, and
arguing with another at the very moment, could
take so much notice as to add, *yea we are all the*
Disciples of Jesus. A Gentleman of good credit
assured me that he met with an *English Jesuite*
in *London* the first Lords day in *June* last, 1659.
one who was bred in *Cambridge*, and had been
formerly of his acquaintance; who after some
shiness to be known, at length confessed that he
came over to propagate the *Roman faith*, and
told him there was a good honest people called
Quakers,

Quakers, whom we jeered at, that did their work at the second hand, and he boasted much of the numbers that turned *Catholicks* immediately, or mediately by becoming Quakers. *Danson* in his *Quakers follie*, Edit. 2. Narrat. p. 2. But they have writ much against Popery, and cry out of it.

There may be two faces under one hood. The waterman looks one way, rows another. To cry thief first, the way to escape. *Page* 47.

By this light from within it doth appear, what darkness they would lead us into, and leave us in, thus dangerous are they to the true reformed Church of Christ: but not onely to that, but even to very civil society, & the civil Magistrate is little beholding to them, may is in danger by them, as appears not only by their rude carriage in the very face of the highest Authority, and their sawcy language; but by some passages of theirs in print to all the world; therefore it is not without ground spoken by those that writ, *A faithful discovery of a treacherous design.* "But be assured, if the Magistrates had not a "materiall Sword, as the Ministers have not, "their language would light as heavy on their "heads, and more then so. To give a taste "of some

2. *Dangerous passages against Magistrates.*

1. G*otherson* in his *Allarm*, p. 66. "Now "that *Magistrate*, whose heart is not "touched with the true fear of the Lord; & that "seed of true faith that is as small as a grain of "mustard-seed, hath got the preheminence, and "is

"is chief in his ſoul, and Chriſt Jeſus is ſet up in
"his ſoule in him on the Throne, that he hath
"the whole heart, and the whole man is in his
"dominion, that can truly ſay, by bearing teſti-
"mony to the witneſs of God in him; That *to*
"*him to live is Chriſt, and to dye is gain*; *unleſſe*
"*the Magiſtrate be ſuch, he is not Chriſts Magi-*
"*ſtrate*: For *thoſe that are Chriſts have crucified*
"*the fleſh with the affections and luſts*: And no
"drunkard, whoremaſter, ſwearer, proud, am-
"bitious, ſelf-ſeeker, lover of pleaſures more
"then lovers of God, having a form of godli-
"neſs, but denying the power thereof, *no ſuch*
"*can be ſaid to be of God, & ſo are not to have that*
"*double honour which is due to Magiſtrates*, that
"do truly rule in this fear. And this diſcovers
"plainly how ſhort thoſe Judges and Juſtices
"come of being godly Magiſtrates that ſuffer and
"conſent to the impriſoning of juſt and righte-
"ous ones whom the Lord eſteemeth as the ap-
"ple of his eye; and thoſe that touch them to
"their hurt will one day find it, that the Lord
"eſteems them as his jewels, and yet how is the
"Goals filled with them through the Nation?
"And ſome have periſhed to death, becauſe they
"cannot conſent for conſcience ſake to pay
"Tythes, *ſeeing them to be a great and abomina-*
"*ble oppreſſion.*

1. *Dat bona verba, ſed latet anguis in her-*
ba: Here are many good words wreſted and
miſapplyed, but *verba ſapienti ſat non ſunt*;
though they may deceive the ſimple, they will
not thoſe that underſtand. 2. It

2. It were indeed very desirable, that all who ruled, the Lord did rule them, and that they who reigned by God, God did reign in them: Oh! that the Lords on earth, were the Lords of heaven, such whose hearts were touched with the true fear of the Lord; and that Christs Throne was in their hearts that were in the Thrones, that our Kings were nursing fathers, and our Queens nursing mothers, and that they made their glory serve to the new *Jerusalem*, very good will the times be, when great men are greatly good: But

3. *Dominium non fundatur in gratia:* And it is false and dangerous to say, *unless the Magistrate be such, he is not Christs Magistrate; and that they that have onely a forme of godlinesse, no such can be said to be of God, and so are not to have that double honour which is due to Magistrates that do truly rule in his fear.* If they be great and good, they are to be honoured the more for that: But if God hath thought good to make them great, we must not think much to give them honour; for God hath commanded it in the first Commandment with promise, *Honour thy father and mother.* כבד את אביך ואת אמך

4. Good men in some particulars may suffer as Malefactors, when they notoriously offend, the Judge may righteously punish, yea, should offend, if their goodness should be immunity for what evil soever they commit: but what persons he reckons on, he presently declares, *how is the Gaols filled with them through the Nation? and some have perished to death.* If he in *Colche-*

ster

" Do not you say that the Magistrate who makes
" *Acts of Parliament*, and doth not receive them
" from God, as *Moses* did, doth act contrary
" to the Law of God, as I made in the Book cal-
" led *Fiery darts of the Devill quenched*, printed
" by *Calvert*, 1654. and subscribed by six Qua-
" kers, the answer to this is *Y E A*.

Are you not ashamed? Have you no more wit then thus to speak out, and confirm it with a Yea? What doth this, but at once cut off the head of all humane Lawes, and make Magistracy even an ineffectual cipher, not in any capacity to make Laws *pro hic & nunc*, they have forgotten *ex malis moribus nascuntur bonæ leges*, that the wickednesse of the times timely occasions good Laws: but the tendency of this is most pernicious to perswade men to rule, and be ruled by the pretence of immediate Revelations, and then the Devill will play *Rex* indeed: witnesse
l.1.c.3.4. but that sad story of *Munster*, mentioned in the first Book, where all was done by pretence of Inspiration, till all was undone; the like in all circumstances never being acted under the Sun. God give our K. and Senators wisdom to enact wholsome Laws in such a time as this for the establishing of truth, righteousnesse and peace, and then shall we and our posterity in the obeying of them be happy, and have great cause to blesse the great Law-giver, though he give not Laws to them, as sometime to *Moses*.

§. In the same Author *q.* 16. is it not confessed by your selves in *Sauls errand*, p. 4. and attested by

by several Justices of the Peace, Ministers of the Gospel, and people in the County of *Lancaster*, that you teach Doctrines that break the relation of Subjects to their Magistrates, Wives to their Husbands, Children to their Parents, Servants to their Masters, Congregations to their Ministers, and of a People to their God.

Baxters Quakers Catechism p. 16. I know the highest of your Sect do forbid your owning of such relations. See *Tolderry* before *Cap.* 3. a sufficient answer with *Gotherson* afterward to *Naylors* denying of it.

Answ. *Our Doctrine tends to the breaking no true relations.*

Reply. It seems you think those no true Relations.

But here once for all, Let me take an occasion to raise up against them, an enemie from among themselves, who though in other things theirs, yet in this of naturall relations, and some other things is clear and full against them.

Epist. 4. *Allarm. p.* 50.

"AMong those tender Lambs of Christ, "those Babes that are born again, those "plants of the Lords right hand, trees of his "own planting that are full of sap, the Cedars "of *Lebanon*, I mean those that are by the wick-"ed of the earth, the men of this world in scorn "called *Quakers*.

By this you see what an high account he hath of them, and how low of all beside them.

"Among

"Among those is crept in wicked deceivers, "ungodly men and ungodly women, even as "*Judas* crept in amongst the Apostles, such who "thinke *that gain is godliness*, such who follow "Christ for the loaves, such as thinke they can "serve two Masters, God and *Mammon*, Christ "and riches, Christ and lust, Christ and the "world, Christ and *Antichrist*. We see then

1. Though they boast of perfection, yet they are a mingled mixed multitude, there are evill and dangerous persons got amongst them.

2. That simple people had need to be ware, for by this very confession a man is in danger, instead of meeting with an honest *Quaker*, to be catched by a *Judas*, a servant of Lust, *Mammon* and *Antichrist*. "Such who teach the do-

Neer kin to Papists. "ctrine of Devills that *Paul* speaks of, denying "to marry, and to abstain from meats, such "as turn the grace of God in them into wan-"tonnesse, truce breakers, breakers of Cove-"nants, pretending they were marryed in their "carnall estate; and they were never moved of "the Lord, and therefore they may leave their "Husbands, their Wives. This is dangerous enough, and the foundation laid broad enough; *Married in their carnall estate*, when the man is truly grown more carnall, then when married, and lusts after strange flesh, then shall this serve for a bill of Divorce: and when they shall be moved by the Devill then, *they were never moved by the Lord*: Are not these such, as while they *promise to others liberty, are themselves the servants of sin.*

But

But hear *Gotherson* himself. "That spirit "those are guided by is of *Satan*, and so will "lead them to take others, as their blinde *ignis* "*fatuus* leads them; for by nothing but imagina- "tion, lust & fancies are such led: And such leads "away silly women that are captivated by Satan, "laden with divers lusts & pleasures, *that are al-* "*ways learning, & never able to come to the know-* "*ledge of the truth*; Others are led to neglect "their families and relations, and children, con- "trary to that of *Paul*, *A man is worse then an in-* "*fidel that doth not provide for his family*, meaning "his outward family. (*n*) For let every man wait "on his calling, and God hath appointed that the "creation shall be managed, that man may be "Lord of all the creatures: And Christ saith, *It is* "*a more happier* (*o*) *thing to give then to receive*; "And the Apostle commandeth *to lay up*, *that* "*there may be a distribution among the Saints*; and "how can he lay up, that is idle, and runs too "and fro, wasting his time in idleness, and con- "suming his precious time, whilst his wife and "children wants at home? And so this spirit "rends & tears the affections of men from their "Wives, and women from their Husbands, and "children from their parents; and *this that* "*brings into a disuniting is not the spirit of the* "*Lord, for the spirit of the Lord brings into union.* "This spirit of righteousnesse teacheth a man to "know his own wife, and love her as Christ did "the Church, and it teaches the woman to know "and love her own Husband. God hath been pleased to pluck some out of the fire, but o-

2 Pet. 2. 19. ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλόμενοι αὐτοὶ δοῦλοι ὑπάρχουσι τῆς φθορᾶς

All Quakers then are not led by the light within them.

n Give Ministers leave to provide for their.

o His own English.

thers thereby have been hardned; ſo out of this mans mouth truth in this proceeds; oh! that the reſt may not the more oppoſe it.

Page 51. He goes on. "Others there are that are very "looſe in their carriage, and deny the reſurre- "ction of the body, contrary to the doctrine of Tit. 1. 12. Ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης. "the Apoſtle, ſaying, *the reſurrection is paſt al-* "*ready*, theſe do erre not knowing the Scrip- "tures, and ſo are led into the diſtraction which "cauſes diſturbance, and this is by the cunning- "neſſe of Satan, and this ſimple people are led "captive by him.

Epiſt. 5. *p.* 54.

"IT is not as *Roger Crab*, *William Smith*, and "*John Dunck* ſurmiſes, and others, in wearing "hair or not hair, neither is it in dirty hands or "faces as they fondly do ſurmiſe; neither is it in "ſtraw hats, or ſuch fond conceits. We ſee in what poor ridiculous things theſe people put their Religion in. "It is not in denying the "lawful uſe of the creatures; for the Apoſtle "ſaith, *Whatſoever is ſold in the ſhambles, that* "*eat, making no ſcruple for conſcience ſake*: So "that a man may lawfully eat all creatures, as "well as hearbs, or what grows naturally, and "every creature of God is good, and nothing to "be refuſed, if received with praiſe and thanks- "giving: And if they, or any led by their fond "deceitful ſpirit, deny the reſurrection of "the body of Chriſt out of the grave, let them "read *Luke* 26. 3. 7. and ſo on. *Acts* 1. 9. They are ſuperſtitious in their obſervances, and deſperately erroneous in their judgements; their Hetero-

Heterodoxies are not ſmall, therefore he concludes well; "The head of the Serpent is too "powerful in *Roger Crab* and his followers, and "leads them captive to do his will. This is a true ſaying, and worthy of ſerious conſideration of them, and the reſt of that conſpiracy. And I ſhall take my leave of them even in *Gathersons* own language. *Page* 56.

"And ſo dear friends I deſire you, to repent "and turn, and put away the evill of your do-"ings; Ceaſe to do evill, learn to do well, hide "the word of the Lord in your hearts, that you "may not ſin againſt God, and be content with "this knowledge of the Lord, to know what he "requires of thee, and to do it, and that is this; "*What doth the Lord thy God require of thee O "man, but to do juſtly, to love mercy, and to walke "humbly with thy God.*

CHAP. XI.

A Narrative *of ſome* publique *proceedings in reference to* Quakers,

In *Weſtmerland.*

To the Juſtices of the Peace.

The Petition of divers Miniſters and otther Inhabitants in the ſaid County.

Humbly ſheweth,

THat *James Naylor* and *George Fox*, men whoſe Country, habitation, profeſſion and

condition is to us generally unknown, meerly of their own accord have entred into the *County*, and together with ſome others their companions and *Proſelytes* who are riſen up among our ſelves in it, have filled it in ſome parts with very ſad diviſions and diſtractions, ſtirred up much hatred wrath and ſtrife, even between the neereſt relations, and powerfully ſeduced *multitudes* of people from the truth, and true worſhip of God, to embrace their own corrupt and dangerous doctrines, and follow their pernicious waves; which things are ſo notoriouſly known to all that live in thoſe parts, that we need not here ſay any thing to acquaint you with it. And though thoſe men tell people where they come, that they are ſent to them from God to declare what he hath revealed *in them*, and labour to perſwade them that they came to them with the *authority of the Apoſtles* of Chriſt; yet our ſelves do confidently believe and know them to be wicked men, deceivers, and the very Miniſters of Satan, as may appear

1. By the *Horrid blaſphemies* which they uttered. 2. By the *damnable Hereſies* and dangerous errours which they have broached. All which tend not onely to the diſturbance of the publique peace and ſafety of the Commonwealth, but to the *ſubverſion of all government*. We do in all humility addreſs our ſelves humbly and earneſtly praying, as you tender the glory of God, and the good of ſo many ſoules as are, or may be indangered by their impious principles and practices, that you would be pleaſed to

make

make uſe of that authority wherewith the Lord hath inveſted you, ſpeedily to provide for the ſafety of true Religion and the publique Peace, by checking the wicked endeavours and proceedings of theſe men; which we humbly conceive, may be at leaſt by ordering *James Naylor*, and *George Fox*, &c. being ſtrangers, to depart out of this County, & to return to their own homes. *Francis Howgill* to be of better deportment ſpecially toward the Magiſtracy and Miniſtry of *England*, and by enjoyning *John Airey*, *Alexander Dixon*, and the reſt of the ſpeakers and followers that live in this County, to abide at their own homes, ſtudy to be quiet, and do their own buſineſs, labouring in their own Calling, which is the Apoſtles rule, and not to wander up and down the *County* as ſeducers, to draw Diſciples after them, ſave onely in a way of travell as private men about their own occaſions, and the Lords gracious guidance of you in the affairs of ſo great concernment, we ſhall ever pray. Given up at the Court at the Seſſions at *Appleby*.

Another.

To the R. H. the Juſtices of Peace for the County of Weſtmerland.

The humble Petition of ſeverall Gentlemen, Miniſters of the Goſpel, and others.

Humbly ſhews,

THat in the late Wars, we, or the moſt of us did expoſe lives, liberties, eſtates and relations, with all other perſonal advantages, in the

juſt defence of *Religion* and *Liberty*, in concurrence with, and maintaining of the juſt proceedings of our *Parliament*, after the proſperous effects whereof, we expected the ſettlement of the grand ends of our engagement; and ſo much the more as being the promiſe of the *Parliament*, the vows of their affections, the price of our prayers, purſes, hazards, loſſes, baniſhments, and the blood of many thouſands, our fellow-ſervants in the work of God, truly ſacrificed in the quarrel of this Nation. What hath bin done in the ſettlement of our civill Rights, Peace, and wholſom Laws, we bleſſe God for, and the *Parliament* as his inſtruments; Nor can we but acknowledge what hath been done by them in the Cauſe of God, as their Acts againſt *Adulteries, Fornication, Swearing, Drunkenneſs, Sabboth-breaking*: Ordinances againſt promoters of Heretical Doctrines. Acts againſt *Ranters*, or *Blaſphemers*, may the Lord encreaſe the number of theſe things.

Yet ſo it is, that in this County ſeveral perſons, Proſelytes of one *George Fox* and *James Naylor*, do in the time of our Aſſemblies, ordinarily in a way of contempt and ſcorn come in among us with their hats on at the time of our prayer, or ſinging uſed in our Congregations: Some of them ſhew violent actions in time of Sermon, or Prayer, or ſinging, & cry out aloud with horrible clamours, ſlanders, abuſes, reproaches againſt our Miniſters, to the ſtirring up of wofull Tumults, evident diſturbing of the work, and the turning of the peaceable Aſſemblies of the Church

Church of Christ into the grosseſt confuſion: that their deportment is ſuch, and with ſo continuall violence againſt the moſt godly of our Miniſters, in all places of their travels, in the ſtreets abuſing them with railing language, ſcornfull behaviours, walking in the Markets with ſuch great numbers together, and ſcarce paſſing by any one not of their judgement without abuſive words; that as it cannot but ſhew us no ſmall ſymptomes of bad deſigns, ſo no ſmall reaſon to provide for our ſecurity: That it is their great deſigne to ſtir up the ſpirits of people againſt the Miniſters of *England* in generall without diſtinction, ſetting forth and ſending abroad daily almoſt, Libels and Slanders againſt the office, as needleſſe, terming them as, or under the names of *Antichriſts*, *Antichriſts Merchants*, *Tythemongers*, *Robbers*, *Deceivers*, *Miniſters of the world*, *Prieſts*, *Murtherers*, *Conjurers*, *Devils*, and attempting to make Proclamations in the open Markets to the ſaid effect. That their main driſt is to engage the people againſt the Miniſtry by reaſon of Tythes, crying out with open clamour againſt Tythes, as unlawful, antichriſtian, to the neceſſary overthrowing of the Laws to that purpoſe; bringing an odium upon the Government, and tending to ſtir up ſedition in the people, to with draw their due obedience from the Lawes and Government of *England*; That beſides what others perhaps may know of the *blaſpemies* of them, we do plainly ſee and know, that their practices do exceedingly ſavour of *Sorcery*; the quakings, ſwellings, roarings, foamings, (and ſuch as we neve-

heard of, but such as were possessed of the Devill) of persons at their meetings, and especially of young children: And giving too sad a suspition of it, and the more by reason of *the known suspition upon* George Fox *to deal with the Devil* before he came to us in these parts. That we know the principles of some of their followers are *against subjection to Magistrates, against distinction amongst men*; and the practices of the most is such, that there *is a denying of relations, children professedly refusing subjection to their Parents, servants to their Masters.* That we are sensible what confusions, divisions, tumults, and parties are made by these mens disturbances, and cannot but with sadnesse of spirit remember, that such small beginnings have in other Nations grown to eat out their peace, and stagger the foundations of their States: As also to lay it before you, what advantage it gives for the common Enemie, weakens the *Parliaments* Interest in the peoples hearts; to see such persons unrestrained, creates discontents, and layes a clear foundation for Civill Wars, or at least advantage to the *Hollanders* or *French* now in arms against us, to carry on their wicked intentions with greater facility.

Therefore as you are Christians, and English Magistrates, we are free men born of *England*, and desiring something more, as instruments under God with others of your present peace, do cry and challenge from you.

1. Your timely looking to the peace of *England*, that seems too evidently to be endeavoured to be rent asunder. 2. The

2. The protection of our ſelves and our Miniſters from violence or diſturbance in our Worſhip of God, and ſuppreſſion of offenders.

3. Execution of the Statute againſt *Sabbotbe-breakers*, and ſuch as under pretence of Religion are in no religious Aſſemblies that day.

4. Charge to all differing Judgements to meet together each *Lords day* peaceably, and not to ſpread themſelves to ſeverall places for diſturbance.

5. Suppreſſion of perſons living without any Calling, and your witneſſing againſt all *Blaſphemers* of the name of God, eſpecially ſuch as are contained in the Acts of *Parliament*; and if the application of any effectuall remedy lye not within your power, that you would pleaſe to joyn with us in this deſigne, and tranſmit this cauſe to the *Right Honourable* the *Council of State*, as a cauſe too neerly concerning the peace of *England*. And we ſhall ever pray, *&c.*

An Order *that was ordered at the Seſſions at* Appleby *in* Weſtmerland.

ORdered, *That whoſoever ſhall hereafter diſturb any Miniſter in the publique Exerciſe of his Miniſtry within this* County, *or give any ſcandalous, or opprobrious termes againſt any of them, ſhall be apprehended by the* Conſtables *or* Church-wardens *of the place, where the offence ſhall be committed and brought before the next Juſtice of the Peace, to finde ſureties for his or her good behaviour: And upon refuſing to finde ſuch*

ſureties

ſureties, to be committed to the Common Gaol *till willingly they ſhall do the ſame, or be from thence delivered by due courſe of Law. And likewiſe all ſuch perſons as meet in great numbers and aſſemblies in the night time within this County, ſhall be apprehended and bound to good behaviour as aforeſaid.*

I find *James Naylor* to have been priſoner at *Appleby*, and then to have written his *Diſcovery of the firſt wiſdome from beneath, and the 2d. Wiſedome from above.*

2. *In* Worceſterſhire.

A Mittimus.

To the Keeper of the Gaol for the County *of* WORCESTER.

Cujus contrarium verum Badaire.

FOraſmuch as *Thomas Goodaire*, the 25th. of this inſtant *March*, being the *Lords day*, came into the Parish Church of *Kidderminſter* at ſuch a time as many hundreds of the good people of this Common-wealth were aſſembled to worſhip God, and there misbehaved himſelfe, not onely by reproachfull ſpeeches againſt the Miniſter, but alſo by affronting the chief Magiſtrate of this Corporation, by contemptuous ſpeeches and geſtures, whilſt he was in diſcharge of the duty of his place, to the great diſturbance of the publick peace, and the grief and perturbation of the people there aſſembled: Theſe are therefore in the name of his *Highneſs*, &c. to will

will and command you forthwith to receive the ſaid *Thomas Goodaire* into your cuſtody, and him ſafely keep till next generall *Seſſions* for the Peace to be holden for this *County*; And hereof you are not to fail, as you will anſwer the contrary. Given under our Hands and Seals this 27. of *March*, 1655.

Nicholas Perſon.
Tho: Belamy.

3. In *Yorkeſhire, Derby, Leiceſter, Northampton.*

There were divers proceedings againſt William Deusbery.

IT is informed that *William Deusbery* a Ringleader of the Quakers, goes up and down the County of *Yorke*, and is now in the *Weſt-Riding* thereof, diſperſing principles prejudicial to the Truth of the Goſpel, and *peace* of the Commonwealth. It is therefore deſired, that ſeeing no man is allowed publiquely to exerciſe his gifts to a particular Congregation unleſſe he be firſt tryed and approved, that the ſaid *William Deusbery* may not be permitted to go up and down from place to place teaching, untill he receive approbation of ſome perſon who ſhall be thought fit to judge how agreeable his principles are to truth and peace.

The ſubſtance of what was delivered to Mr. *Payler* the foreman of the *Grand Jury*, to acquaint therewith Judge *Windham* at *Yorke* Aſſi-

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zes, 13. or 14. of *March*, 1653. Whereupon a Warrant was granted in open Court to the Justices in *Yorkeshire* to apprehend him, who being at *Tholthorpe* about ten miles from *Yorke* in the *North-riding*, *George Man* went to Mr. *Dikeson* at *Kerby Hall* in *Yorkeshire*, who granted a Warrant, *April* 26. And on the 27. at *Crake* by *John Lockwood* the *High Constable*, by that Warrant he was apprehended, and on the 28 day brought before Mr. *Dickeson* by whom he was committed.

The Mittimus to the Sheriff *of the County, & to the* Keeper *of the* Gaol *of the* Castle *at* York.

WHereas there was a Warrant directed for the apprehending of *William Dewsbery* of *Stanly* for the seducing of the people of this Nation, from Judge *Windham* the last Assizes; and he being brought before me, and refuseth to find Sureties, to be of good behaviour, and to appear at the next Assize to be holden for the said *County* to answer the premisses; you are to receive into your custody the said *W.D.* and him safely to keep, untill delivered by due course of Law. *April* 28. 1654. *Tho. Dickeson.*

At *Yorke Castle* he was kept prisoner till the *Assizes* till *July* 25. And at the end of the *Assize* cleared by Proclamation, & had a *Liberate* sent him, as he saith himself. From thence he went into *Cleveland*, and other parts in *Yorkeshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, and so to *Derby*; and at *Derby* he was laid hold on as he was declaring his mind, and so

ſo carried before the Juſtices, ſitting in *Seſſions* in the Town, *Aug.* 24. 1654. where it ſeems he appeared in ſuch manner, as the Juſtices bid the Jaylor take him away to Priſon for diſturbing the Court. Into Priſon he was put, and at night the *Mayor*, *Thomas Tail* ſent for him, and asked him what he came to *Derby* for, he anſwered, to declare the word of the *Lord*. The *Mayor*, wilt thou go out of the Town? *Anſw.* When the *Lord* orders me. Then was he commanded to priſon again. The next day came one of the *Mayors* officers, and ſaid, if he would go forth of the Town, and come no more, he would let him out; he anſwered, he would not till ordered of the *Lord*, and till the man that ſaid he had authority to put me in, come and take me out; afterward the Jaylor delivered him to the Officer, who put him forth of the Towne, and ſtrictly charged him to depart: But he returned into the Town again, and there ſtayed, as he ſaith, till he was free in his ſpirit to go thence.

From thence he went to *Leiceſter*, there he went into the Church; and after the Miniſter had done, he ſpake to the people, then two from the Mayor *Edmund Johnſon*, carried him away to him, who commanded his Officers to put him in priſon; and the next day he was brought before the *Mayor* and another of the *Magiſtrates*; and after examination, the Keeper of the *Gaol* was commanded to put him out of the Town, and charged him to depart, but he returned to go on in his ſpeakings.

Then (as he ſaith) in obedience to the ſpirit of Truth,

prisoned. The Mayor *Edward Young*, upon the 14. of *October*, committed 2. Quakers to prison, and at night divers of them meeting in the street, the *Mayor* came with Officers, and put many of them into prison, and into the stocks, and three of them into the dungeon, commanding the rest on pain of imprisonment to depart.

7. *At Northampton.*

A. D. 1655. *July* 21. the *Gaoler* called *Will. Dewsbury*, *Joseph Stow*, *Henry Williamson*, *John Whitehead*, *Marmaduke Stow*, *Tho Cocket*, and *Francis Ellington*, and set them them at the Bar before the Court, and they all were covered till the Judge commanded the Gaolers man to pull off their hats.

Judge *Atkins* asked *Will. Dewsbery* his name; he answered, unknown to the world, but that the world knows is *William Dewsbery*. *Atkins*, what Countryman? *A.* of *Canaan*. My natural birth was in *Yorkeshire*, 9 miles from *Yorke*, toward *Hull*. *Atkins*, why did you not stay there? *A.* So I did, till called to go, where led by the Spirit. The *Clerke of the Peace* told the Judge there was an Information given in on oath by Mr. *Robert Burton*, that *Will. Dewsbery*, 29. of *December*, 1654. did go into *Wellingborough* Church, and by gesture and words made disturbance among the people. *J. Atkins*. I shall take course, that those which have disturbed the Ministers, before I go forth of the Town, be indicted; and told *Dewsbery* that he broke the Law, in that he was found wandring in the Country;

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for there is an ancient Law, that if any did go from their dwellings, to travell in the Countrey without a Certificate from a Justice, they were to be taken as Wanderers; and common fame is a good accuser, though not a good tryer: And I am satisfied from what I have heard to continue you in prison, unlesse you will put in bond to be of good behaviour, and appear at the next *Assizes*; for you are by common fame accused to be a dangerous people, and breakers of the publique peace. The Court rising, the Gaolers took them away to prison again till the next *Assize*.

8. *Lancaster.*

From thence a Petition to the Council of State, *of severall* Gentlemen, Justices of Peace, Ministers *and* People.

Sheweth,

THat *George Fox* and *James Naylor* are persons *disaffected to Religion, and the wholsome Laws of this Nation*: And that since their coming into this Country, have broached opinions tending to the *distruction of the relations of Subjects to their Magistrates, Wives to their Husbands, children to their Parents, servants to their Masters, congregations to their Ministers, and of a people to their God*: And have drawn much people after them, many whereof (*men, women, and little children*) *at their meetings are strangely wrought upon in their bodies, and brought to fall, foam at mouth, roar, and swell in their bodies*; *and that* some of them affirmed themselves to be e-

quall with God, as hath been attested at a late Quarter-Session at *Lancaster* in *October*, & since that time acknowledged before many Witnesses, besides many dangerous opinions and damnable heresies, as appears by a Schedule annexed, with the names of the Witnesses subscribed.

May it therefore please your *Honours*, upon consideration of the premises, to provide that some speedy course may be taken for the suppressing those evils, *&c.*

The Schedule.

1. *George* professed and avowed that he was equall with God. 2. To be the Eternal Judge of the world. 3. He was the Judge of the world. 4. The Christ, the way, the truth, and the life. 5. Whosoever took a place of Scripture, and made a Sermon of it, was a Conjurer, and his preaching conjuration. 6. That the Scripture was carnall.

James Milner professes himself to be God and Christ, and gives out prophecies.

1. That *the day of judgement* shall be the 15. of *Novemb.*

2. Never Judge sit at *Lancaster* again.

3. That he must ere long shake the foundations of the *great Synagogue*, meaning the *Parl.*

Leonard Fell professeth, that [*Christ had never any body but his Church.* *Richard Hubberth.* That Christs coming in the flesh was but a figure.

Geo. Fox faith, these matters are falsely charged upon him: but whosoever reads his answers may easily see how he prevaricates. To give you a taste, 1. Answering that *have broached opinions,*

Sauls Errand, p. 3.

p. 4.

p. 4. *Opinions we deny*, they taking themselves in all to be infallibly guided by the Spirit, and saith but little more in a few canting termes to that grand Objection of teaching such Doctrines as break relations. 2. To that of saying *he was equall with God*, this jejune equivocating answer. *It was not so spoken, as* George Fox *was equall to God, but the father and the son is one*, &c. 3. *To that he is the eternall Judge of the world*, answers p. 6. He that was a Minister of God said, that the *Saints shall judge the world*: What means this daubing, this palliating? Come to an humble Saint, that knows himselfe, and abhors his own vileness, and from him you shall have far other answers: So that indeed his whole answer will be found rather a confirmation of the charge, then a cleering of him; so that the more he stirs, the worse he stincks. It is in vain, and but expence of time to make more words about it, he that will may read the book.

Of James Milner; *Though his mind did run out from his condition, and from minding that light of God which is in him, yet there is a pure seed in him, hot concesso*, two pillars of theirs are overturned, *that they are guided alway in their teachings by an infallible spirit infallibly*, and *perfect*. Page 9.

Of Leonard Fells; *That Christ had no body but his Church. Answ.* There is one body, & Christ is the head of his body the Church, goes to make it good, and in justifying another, condemns himself.

9. *In Devonshire.*

Miles Halhead (a) and *Tho. Salthouse* (*b*) being pressed in spirit (*c*) to visit the seed of God in captivity (*d*) in *Plymouth*, left their beings and relations in the North, (*e*) passed thitherward as far as *Hunniton* neer *Exeter*, (*f*) where a guard being placed for apprehending of such persons as were suspected to have a hand in an Insurrection broke out a little before, by them they were taken up and brought before Colonel *Coppleston* high Sheriff of the County: Having examined them, he caused them to be kept close prisoners at *Exeter* for about 14 dayes, and then sent them from Officer to Officer towards their homes. (*g*)

Being come 2 miles from *Taunton* on the way to *Bridgewater*, the Officer falling to the ground was able to go no further; whereupon they returned (as they say) to the Justice of *Taunton*, to know what they would enjoyn them in, and he quietly dismissed them.

Hereupon they passed to *Bristol*, having staid there, and thereabout some time, they passed to *Plymouth*, 16. of May, 1655. On *May* 21. the *Constable* came with a Warrant from Mr. *John Page* Mayor; being brought before him, they were committed to prison at the *Guildhall*. The next day they were brought before the *Mayor*, *Magistrates*, & *Councel*, and the Ministers of the Town, and severally examined about the space of 3. hours, and returned to prison; the *Mayor* being asked why they were committed, answered for *denying the Trinity*, and that there had been

a Not *Halhead*.
b But not well seasoned.
c But by whom? the Question.
d All as they conceive.
e *Quo warranto?*
f A long journy on a sleeveless errād.
g For clearly they were out of the way.

been oaths taken to that purpoſe: And being again asked, he ſaid for *refuſing to take the Oath of Abjuration, & upon ſuſpition that they were Jeſuits.* Having been kept priſoners for the ſpace of a week, *May* 28. they were ſent to the *Common Gaol* in the Caſtle of *Exeter*, as *diſturbers of the peace*, and for divers other miſdemeanors againſt a late Proclamation, prohibiting the diſturbing of Miniſters; and againſt an Ordinance of the *Protectors* lately made againſt Duels and Challenges, and all provocations thereunto, and for refuſing to give ſufficient ſureties for their appearing at next Seſſions; and in the mean while to be of good behaviour. Being brought to *Exeter*, they lay till the general *Seſſions* the 10. of *July*. On the 12. they were brought before the *Seſſions*, to whom the *Clerk* read a Bill of Indictment upon the Ordinance for preventing of Duels.

That they did the 20. of *May*, 1655. at *Plymouth* in the hearing of divers, uſe divers diſgracefull provoking words and paſſages to *Geo. Brook* Clerk in the *Nightingale Frigot*; he being then opening and declaring to the ſame perſons a Scripture, wherein he ſpake of the *Trinity*, viz. *Thou lyeſt in ſaying there were three perſons in the Trinity; we deny it, there is no ſuch thing: but thou art a deluding ſpirit, come to draw away the hear s of the people from God*: And they did ſpeak to the people *not to hearken to* Geo. Brook, *for that he was a Thief, and was come with a lye in his mouth, and ſaid it was a lye that he had brought*, and other harms to the ſaid *George Brooks* againſt the publique peace.

To the Indictment they pleaded *not guilty*, the *Gaoler* was commanded to take them away, and about an hour after called in, and the *Oath of Abjuration* tendred them; which they refusing, were returned to prison: The next day they were brought to the *Bench* again, and refusing to confess they had wronged Mr. *Brooks*, they were fined 5 *l.* a piece, and sent to the *House of Correction* till payment, and to find sureties for their behaviour, and so were they returned to prison.

10. *In Bristol.*

SOme neer *Kendale* in *Westmerland* came to *Bristol* on *July* 12. 1654. and went to *Plym.* on the 14. and from thence to *London:* but one of them, *John Audland*, returned to *Bristol* about *Septemb.* with one *John Camm*, where they prevailed on many; the places of meeting were in the fields, *though winter*, to *two*, 3. yea sometime near 4000.

On the 30 of *Octob.* the *Magistrates* being assembled in the *Council-Chamber*, sent an officer to *Francis Howgil* and *Edw. Burrough* to come before them; which done, they were commanded to depart the City & Liberties thereof at their peril. To which they made answ. *That they came not in the will of man, nor stood in the will of man: but when they moved them to depart, who moved them thither, they should obey; but their wills they could not obey, for their will was not law.* Thereupon a while after, Representations were made at *Whitehall* and *Westminst.* that they were disaffected to the Government, suspected to be carrying on some designe, and that there are thousands

ſands at their meetings, even in the *Fort*, that the *Garriſon* was in danger thereby, and that the *Officers* of the *Garriſon* were friends to them.

On *Decemb.* 10. in the morning, *Eliz. Marſhall* went to *Nicholas* Church, where Mr. *Ralph Farmer* preached; ſitting over againſt him, after the laſt prayer, ſhe cryed out, *This is the word of the Lord to thee* Farmer, *wo, wo, wo, from the Lord to them who take the word of the Lord in their mouths, and the Lord never ſent them*; was proceeding, but hindred by the people tumulting about her, to them ſhe ſaid; *This is the mighty day of the Lord, the Lord is coming to pull the people out of the mouths of all dumb Shepheards*: The *Major*, Mr. *John Gunning*, the next day ſent for her, & ſeveral days that week, but ſhe was not at home. In the afternoon the ſame day, Mr *Grimes* preached at *Philips*; *Henry Gunning* reproved him, he having ſaid, *that he committed ſin in all he did.* Whereupon *John Warring* ſaid to him, *If thou wert a Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, the law of the ſpirit of life would make thee free from the law of ſin and death.* That week the *Magiſtrates* ſent for *Joh. Warring*, and upon the diſturbance committed him to *Newgate.*

On the 17. of this moneth, *Eliz. Marſhall* went to the *Colledge Church* to ſpeak to Mr. *Knowls*: After the bleſſing, ſhe ſaid, *This is the word of the Lord to thee* Knowls, *I warn thee to repent, and to mind the light of Chriſt in thy conſcience*; and was very full to have ſpoken more: but Alderman *William Cann* commanded to lay hands on her. To them ſhe cryed with a loud

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voyce often; *The mighty day of the Lord is at hand wherein he will ſtrike terrour on the wicked.* By a *Conſtable* ſhe was carried before the Mayor, who for diſturbance was ſent by him to *Newgate*. The 18. ſhe was ſent for to the *Council-houſe*, where *Mayor* & *Aldermen* ſitting, the *Mayor* charged her *with diſturbing the peace*, and called for the depoſitions againſt her, as to what ſaid to M. *Farmer*, he not having ſaid the Bleſſing. The depoſitions were read; and ſhe being demanded concerning the words, anſwered, *I have ſaid*, whereupon ſhe was returned to priſon. At length in this moneth it grew ſo high, that the whole City was put into a great tumult, and moſt imminent danger.

On *Janua.* 1. *Henry Warren* went to *Thomas* Church, where one Mr. *Longman* preached; and when he had done, told him, *The prayers of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord*; thereupon he was carried before the *Mayor*, who demanded of him why he kept on his hat in the time of Prayer; he replyed, the Lord ſaith, *my ſon give me thy heart*, for the faſhions and cuſtoms of the world are an abomination to the Lord. After further examinatiō he was committed to priſon.

Janu. 16. 1654. a general *Seſſions* for *County* and *City* was held, where was called *H. Warren*, to whom the *Town-Clerk* ſaid, he ſtood there for *diſturbing the peace*: and nothing in charge being returned, he told him he might go about his buſineſs, and bid him take that for a warning.

Eliz. Marſhal was the next; the *Town-clerk* told her ſhe ſtood committed for *diſturbing the peace.*

peace. After ſome ſpeech, ſhe was returned to priſon, where ſhe was continued about 4. weeks, and then releaſed.

John Warring next, to whom his Charge was read for making diſturbance in the Congregation, calling the Miniſter *Devil*, and kicking at the *Clerke*, and ſaying, *the Miniſter ſpake never a true word.* Then the Court asked him, whether he would promiſe for the future he would do no more ſuch things, and find Sureties for his good behaviour; he refuſing, was ſent to priſon again, and continued there till the 19th of *January*, at which time a *Liberate* was ſent the Jaylor, ſigned *Aldworth*, and witneſſed *John Gunning* Mayor, dated *Jan.* 19. 1654.

At this Seſſion there was made this order; *That no perſon or perſons do hereafter preſume to moleſt, trouble, or otherwiſe diſquiet any Miniſter or Congregation either before or after the publique Exerciſes be ended: And if any perſon or perſons ſo offend, that in all ſuch caſes, the Conſtables or any other Officers ſhall apprehend, take, or arreſt the party or parties ſo offending, and bring him or them before the Mayor, and ſome other Juſtice of the Peace, who are to take care that ſuch offender or offenders be bound with ſufficient Sureties to appear at the next general Seſſions; and in the mean while to be of the good behaviour: and for not finding ſome ſureties as aforeſaid, to commit them to priſon. That if any ſuch diſturbance, trouble, or other diſquietment be hereafter made, done, or committed in the Churches, as aforeſaid; the Miniſter be alſo deſired not to hold diſpute, or other publick debate*

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there with the party or parties ſo offending, but to perſwade the hearers to repair home quietly to their ſeveral families and habitations, and not to hearken to, or run after them. That the Conſtables do once in every fortnight make diligent ſearch within their ſeveral Wards for all ſtrangers, Inmates, & ſuſpitious perſons, and to preſent their names, and thoſe who entertain them within two days following to the Mayor and Juſtices, to the end ſuch courſe may be taken with them as is agreeable to Law. That all people do take ſpecial notice, and be hereby forwarned not to be preſent at any tumult, or other unlawful aſſembly, or on any pretence to aſſemble or gather into companies, or multitudes, into the ſtreets or elſewhere, or to conduct and follow offenders either to the Magiſtrates houſes, or other places of juſtice, unleſs they be thereunto lawfully called: And the Conſtables and all other publick Officers are hereby required to apprehend and arreſt all ſuch Boyes and Apprentices, and other people that ſhall aſſemble or gather together as aforeſaid, and to bring them before the Magiſtrates to be puniſhed according to Law.

Jan. 22. *Tho. Bawden* for ſpeaking to the people in the Congregation, was committed to priſon, as alſo a Warrant ſigned, *To all the Conſtables within this Citie, and to every of them.*

Foraſmuch as Information hath been given us, that John Cam & John Audland, *two ſtrangers, who were commanded to depart this City, have in contempt of Authority come into this City again to the diſturbance of the publique peace: Theſe are therefore to will and require you forthwith to apprehend*

prehend them, and bring them before us to be examined according to law.

January 25. A Warrant as followeth. *Forasmuch as Information upon oath hath been given us that certain persons of the* Franciscan *Order in* Rome *have of late come over into* England, *& under the notion of* Quakers, *drawn together severall multitudes of people in* London. *And whereas certain strangers going under the names of* Joh. Cam, Jo. Audland, Geo. Fox, Ja. Naylor, Fr. Howgil, *and* Edw. Burrough, *and others unknown, have lately resorted to this City, and in like manner under the same notion of* Quakers, *drawn multitudes of people after them, and occasioned very great disturbances among us. And forasmuch as by the said Information it appears to us to be very probable, & much to be suspected that the said persons so lately come hither, are some of those that came from* Rome *as aforesaid. These are therefore in the name of the* Protector, *to will and require you to make diligent search through your Ward for the aforesaid strangers, or any of them, and all other suspected persons, and to apprehend and bring them before us, or some of us to be examined and dealt with according to Law. Hereof fail you not.*

Upon this warrant, *Tho. Marsford* was taken, having on a *hair coat*: Being brought before the Magistrates, his coat was taken off, and the Officers ordered to turn him out of Town, which was done accordingly: but he by and by returned at the same gate; within which no sooner entred, but the Officers apprehended him again, and brought him before the Mayor, who committed him

him to priſon, and his *hair coat* ſent him, which he put on the next day on his other clothes: but the 3d day he was inwardly required (as they ſay) to put the *hair coat* next him, and ſo to abide till he ſpoke with the Mayor which he did, and likewiſe was *barefooted*. When releaſed, he immediately went ſo to the Mayor; who commanding his hat to be taken off, the aſhes on his head flew about, which he ſhaked from him, telling the *Mayor, that the Lord of hoſts would ſtain the glory and crown of all his pride, and ſtrip him naked and bare.*

Febr. 4. *Thomas Robertſon* of *Grairig* neer *Kendal* in *Weſtmerland*, being at *Nich.* Church when Mr. *Hazard* preached: After he had done, *Thomas* utters his voyce; being apprehended, he was carried to the *Mayors*, and committed to *Newgate.*

The ſame day *Chriſtopher Berkhead* went into *Stephens* Church: when all ended, he ſaid to the Miniſter, *thou ſon of Pride*, and proceeding further; and the Conſtable coming, he further ſaid, *the plagues of God is thy portion, the mouth of the Lord hath ſpoken it.* The next day the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* ſent for him, and demanded wherefore he diſturbed the Congregation, and bid him promiſe the Mayor that he would go to the Church no more, and they would free him: He anſwered, *As to my own will I ſhall not go: but if I am moved of the Lord, I ſhall obey.* Then he was ſent to *Bridewel*, where he was for 9 or 10 days.

On *March* 15. 1654. *Jeremy Higdel* was ſent for by the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, and committed to

to *Newgate*; on the 2d. of *April* he was ſent for before them again, and was committed, but that evening releaſed.

Sarah Goldſmith on *May* the 5th. 1654. put on a *coat of ſackcloath of hair* next her, uncovered her head, put earth thereon, with her hair hanging down about her, without any other cloaths upon her, except ſhoes on her feet: In that manner went to every gate, and through every ſtreet within the walls of the City, and then ſtood at the *high Croſs* in the view of *Town* and *Market* as a ſign againſt the pride of *Briſtol*, and abode in that habit 7. days. From the *high croſs* ſhe was brought by the *Chamberlain*, with ſome of the *Sergeants* to the *Council-houſe*, the *Mayor* asked her a reaſon of her actions; ſhe anſwered, *It was in obedience to the light in her conſcience*, ſo ſhe was ſent to *Bridewel*.

On *May* 8. the *Mayor* ſent for *Daniel Waſtfield*, and committed him to *Newgate*, where he continued a priſoner 33. dayes.

On the 11. the *Mayor* ſent for *William Ford*; and being come, the *Milliners* complained, that he kept a man at work in contempt of the *Mayors* order; whereupon the *Mayor* charged him to turn the ſtranger away, and for refuſing he was committed to priſon: and refuſing to go, the *Officers* did drive him along, where he was 26. dayes.

On *Septemb.* the 2d. *Chriſtopher Berckhead* at *Nicholas* Church; where Mr. *Farmer* having done (before that he ſtood with his hat on in the time of Prayer) he ſpake; *Thus ſaith the Lord, a horrible*

horrible and wonderfull thing is committed in the Land; he by an *Alderman* present was committed to *Bridewel*.

On *Septemb.* 9. *Benjamin Maynard* went to Mr. *John Paul* Minister, and coming into the Church where he was preaching, he said, *John Paul, in the presence of the Lord be silent*. And as he was speaking further, taken and carried to *Bridewel*. The next day he was sent for before the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, and asked to finde Sureties; he refusing, was sent to *Newgate*.

On *Septemb.* 16. *Margaret Thomas* being at *Nicholas Church*, after Mr. *Farmers* Prayer before Sermon, she said to him, *Wo unto the Idol-shepheards that devour and scatter my flocke saith the Lord*; with more: but the *Mayor* and some *Aldermen* being present, commanded her to be carried to *Bridewel*; where continuing two or 3 days, she was removed to *Newgate*.

On *September* 23. *Temperance Hignel* went into *Temple-Church*, after Mr. *Jacob Brent* had done, began to speak, saying, *Wo from the Lord to thou* Jacob Brent. She was carried before Alderman *Knight*, who committed her to *Bridewel*. The next day she was brought before the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, she was then asked whether she would go thither again? and whether she would be sorry for what done? She said, *she could say little to that*. Then the *Mayor* asked her if she would find Sureties for her good behaviour, she answered, *no*, so she was again committed, and sent to *Newgate*.

The same day *John Smith* went to *Nicholas* Church,

Church, Mr. *Farmer* having ended his Sermon before he began to pray, spake to the people that *John Smith* should be uncovered: and he perceiving the people moved, said, *why do the heathen rage?* And told Mr. *Farmer, that he was covered with a covering, but not of the spirit, that he was not led by the Spirit, when he would bring one to swear &c.* The next day the *Mayor* & *Aldermen* sent for him, and coming before them covered, his hat was taken off at their command: Then they charg'd him with making a disturbance in the Church, then they asked him whether he would find sureties for his good behaviour? and he not doing it, was sent to *Newgate*. *Octob.* 8. he was again brought before the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, and after a while remanded to prison; the Officers coming, he held fast by the Bar, from whence by force they hailed him.

Octob. the 10. Being the generall Session of the Peace, *Benjamin Maynard* appeared, to whom was read an Information concerning his going to Mr. *John Pauls* Church, as afore: He answered, *what I have spoken, I will own.* The Court asked him, whether he would be sorry for what he had done? he answered, *Nay, I will not be sorry at all.* Then *Margaret Thomas* was called, to whom the *Town Clerke* read an information, which he said was upon oath; *Her going into* Nicholas *Church; and after Mr.* Farmer *had ended his first prayer, her speaking, woe unto the Idol-shepheard that devours and scatters my Flocke,* with much more to that purpose. Then he asked, whether she would be sorry for it, and promise to do so no more? she answered, *I will not*, and so she was put by. *Temperance Higgs* was called, and asked, whether she would be sorry for what she had done, and promise to do so no more? She answered, *she was not sorry; neither could promise,* so was put by. *John Smith* next, against whom

whom an Information was read, *For disturbing the Congregation, and abusing Mr.* Farmer. They asked, whether he would acknowledge his offence, and be sorry for what done? which he denyed, and so put by. *William Ford* being asked whether he was sorry for what done? answered, *he had committed no evill, and therefore had no cause of sorrow*; Which being urged again and again, and still refusing, he was taken away.

Lastly, *Christopher Berckhead* was brought, then asked whether sorry for disturbing the Congregation? he answered, *he disturbed no man*, he vvas bid to be taken avvay till he found Sureties; and so he vvas put from the Barre, and he vvith the other 5. vvere returned to *Newgate*.

On the 5. of *Novemb. John Smith, Rich. Iones, Christopher Berckhead, Margaret Thomas*, and *William Ford*, vvere let out upon two becoming Bail unknown to them for their appearance onely at next generall *Sessions*.

POSTSCRIPT.

THis Narrative *is collected out of their own Papers, which is there to be found: but two things I was necessitated to omit.* 1. *Many particular circumstances. And* 2. *what they say in reference to all those proceedings.* 1. *Crying out exceedingly of Injustice and Oppression in the Magistrates.* 2. *Of tumult, violence, cruelty, and inhumanity among the vulgar*; *He that is desirous, may peruse their Books, as,* The cry of Blood. The persecution of the Quakers. The wounds of an Enemy in the house of a Friend. Sauls Errand. A discovery of the grounds of Imprisonment in *Northampton* cum *aliis*. *But had notice been taken of all, it would have been very tedious, and the book been far bigger then intended.*

FINIS. 2^di Lor^m

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM